NETAJI
SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE
His Life and Work

SOPAN

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SOPAN
(Joint Editor, "Janmabhoomi" Group of Newspapers)

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

You were foremost amongst Indians to recognise and evaluate the worth of the defeated but undaunted warriors of the I. N. A. You were first to see that they still carried in their hands, the torch of freedom unextinguished and it was given to you to raise your valiant voice in their defence. You made the cry of " Jai Hind " an all embracing slogan in India.

Late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai,

The Red Fort at Delhi to-day stands as a silent witness of your keen intellect, your astounding knowledge of law and the warmth which your heart experienced when your eyes beheld in retrospect the glory that was I. N. A. In the Red Fort you propounded the divine right of all slave nations to be free. You raised India to the highest pedestal of esteem in the eyes of the world.

Shree Amritlal Sheth,

The delightful dreamland, created by the activities of the I. N. A. was obscured from our view by obstacles that were dark, more impervious and more fore-boding than the towering ranges of Assam and Arakan. But you surmounted them all, entered that little known territory and were the first to bring home the wealth of documentary evidence. With one stroke you tore asunder the curtain of camounflage which the enemies of India had erected.

For these reasons ;

I humbly and respectfully dedicate this book—a simple offering of my laborious efforts—to your three exalted selves.

SOPAN

" What better reward can a soul desire than the certainty that his message will be wafted over hills and dales and over the broad plains to every corner of his land and across the seas to distant lands ? What higher consumation can life attain than self-immolation at the alter of one's cause ?

" Though there may be no immediate tangible gain no sacrifice is ever futile.

"British imperialism has meant for India, moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement......."

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

NINTH AUGUST

As inspiring novel in the form of a diary depicting the thrilling events of August Revolution based on historical facts :

Will soon be out.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The life story of Subhash, bristles with endless tales of dauntless heroism and selfless sacrifice. Each and every page of that story, from the occasion of his birth to the present day, unfolds before us a saga which is, to say the least, unique.

One day be bid adieu to his beloved land of birth, a land where most years of his young life were spent in dark prisons errected by the foreign master. A time came when he could no longer put up with the pangs of slavery and one day, renouncing all—he went away. His sole ambition was to see his motherland free. He wanted to see Indians moving about with their heads held aloft. No question of any personal gain had ever weighed with him during his colourful career.

In this book an attempt has been made to depict in out line, the life and work of that brave personality. Numerous books on the subject have already seen the light of the day but it can be rightly claimed that this book contains a considerable amount of hitherto unpublished material. Also, I have taken considerable pains to see that this book does not deteriorate into a mere chronicle of dry facts but becomes a real saga of Subhash Babu's dynamic achievements. I have no doubt that every Indian will find this book a continual source of inspiration.

A question would naturally arise as to wherefrom all the material collected in this book was obtained. Firstly, I have to state that I have gone through all the literature that I could lay my hands on dealing with Subhash Babu and the I. N. A. Nearly 50 such publications came to my

hands, over and above the literature published by various newspapers in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi.

But all this was not sufficient for the purpose of this book. I was fortunate in being able to commandeer the services of Shree Amritlal Sheth, one sikh sardar who prefers to remain annonymous, four I.N.A. officers and some members of the Ranee of Jhansi regiment, all of whom gave me considerable help in collecting and collatig the material which I have reproduced. It was from them only that I got a glimpse of the glorious world that was greater Asia. They were so considerate and affectionate that it would make it a travesty of courtesy if I tried to thank them for their help.

But a special note of thanks is due to my friend and colleague Mr. Manubhai Mehta. It is not too much to say that without his help it would have been very difficult for me to bring out this book, each and every page of which bears an imprint of his laborious work.

Last but not the least let me also thank all who have been helpful to me in preparing this work.

" Janmabhoomi ",
Bombay, 21st October 1946. **SOPAN**

"BIOGRAPHY AND BALLAD"

The biography of Subhash Babu need not wait for the solution of that highly intriguing question,—whether he is still alive or not. Does the answer really make any difference? There are 'jeevanmrithas' and mrithajeevas' in the world. The former are counted by the million, the latter on one's fingers. It was Jawaharlal Nehru that had stated that "success often comes to those that dare and act", and it was left to Subhash Chandra Bose to prove it to the hilt.

At a time when it was glibly taken for granted that India's Independence was out of question by a feat of arms, it was the Netaji that chose a line of his own to emancipate his motherland, by marshalling his forces from abroad. If he died, he remains a hero and martyr. If he is alive he will live in history as a mystic and prophet who has worked out his philosophy in real life. To write the life-story and achievement of such an ardent soul, such a disembodied spirit, requires sympathy, understanding and vision,—all of which are brought into full play in these 558 pages of history, biography and ballad.



"A VALUABLE WORK"

Perhaps few events of modern Indian history can equal in romance and magnetism the adventures of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and the I. N. A. Coming at the end of the epic of 1942, it assumed an added lustre. For a long while the story lay shrowded in an intriguing shroud of mystery cast by the abnormal conditions and regulations of war. But as the war closed and the curtain slowly lifted, a colourful panorama unfolded itself to our eager gaze. Striking tales of daring and patriotic fervour came to us. The trial of three of the I. N. A. leaders lent authenticity and a historical slant to what was at first almost an incredible romance.

That such an incident should catch the imagination of the people was inevitable. Floods of literature flowed out, with few able to distinguish fiction from fact. Some of it was obviously move out of the bright imagination of adventerous minds. The present book by Sopan, an established writer of repute, on Netaji and the I. N. A. is therefore to be welcomed as an earnest effort in giving it a historic basis and value by supporting it with documentary material. Great credit is due to the author for the immense labour expended on collecting the material, which in itself must have been a painful process, of picking up bits and pieces from numerous places, individuals, papers and the like and piecing them together to produce the interesting consecutive tale that he has—One wishes however that the form of expression was crisper and less elaborate; for poignant rather than flowery language adds greater depth especially to a historical narrative. One hopes and wishes that the valuable work started by the author will be further maintained and more historical data will be added to this.

Bangalore City,
October, 13, 1946.

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PART 1
FROM BIRTH TO ESCAPE

story of his sacrifice. The fact that his youthful years were scorched by the fires of prison life was also known to the wide world. India, not once but twice chose him as the head of the Nation. That is proof enough of its love and respect for him.

Subhash bid adieu to the mother-land so as to come back and break its fetters. He disappeared, only to reappear as a saviour. But at the time of his disappearance the story of the hazards which he was overcoming was not known to us. People could not unravel his mystery. Some believed that he had become a Sanyasin and started off for the Himalayas. Well, Sanyasin he was, because being a life-long worshipper at the shrine of the goddess of Liberty, he had never cared or longed for worldly pleasures. Freedom of the motherland was his one passion. Providence had offered him the fond and loving care which a numerous and devoted family can give, but he had no use for it. His last days in India were spent in meditation and contemplation and that lent colour to the belief that he had become a Sanyasin.

But his Sanyas-his renunciation-turned out to be of a totally different kind. He had renounced the world so that not only his own soul but his countrymen, numbering 40 crores also, may be free. The Path which he trod after renouncing his family, friends and the land of his birth,now no longer remains obscure. All along its length there are beacon lights.

At one time, some were deluded into believing that he had become a tool in the hands of Japan and Germany, and that he was engaged in efforts, which aimed at installing the Japanese in place of British in this country. Yet

in those days of delusion also, the people who entertained a doubt about his patriotism were only a handful. Those who characterised him as a puppet of Japan had themselves become directly or indirectly the puppets of British Imperialism. Those who were trying to identify him as a tool of the Japanese had themselves become the tools of the Britishers, thus undermining the Indian freedom movement.

But at last those days of delusion were over. A day dawned when facts of his life became known and the smoke-screen of doubts and deceits, which the enemies had carefully laid was instantaneously destroyed. Subhash began to shine in the sky of freedom, with all possible glory.

Subhash was neither a tool nor a puppet of either the Germans or the Japanese. He did not seek his own happiness or safety through their "Friendship". He did not want to capture power with their "help". His one and only passion, which made him leave the land of his birth, was to see the glory of his motherland established, to free it from the British yoke and to give it its rightful place in the comity of nations.

The feats he performed in trying to achieve this end, revealed to us the astounding ability which he possessed. He inspired new life into, so to say, dead creatures. Those who had never seen a sword became brave warriors under his inspiration. Difficulties were a legion and "friend". Japan also could not be trusted implicitly, but nothing could make him deviate from the path which he had finally chosen. The future world historian would ill afford to overlook his work and worth. In the history of Indian Independence, his unique achievement will one day form the subject of an epic.

This Subhash was born nearly 50 years ago on the evening of 23rd January, 1897, not in the cradle of revolution that Bengal was but in Cuttack the capital of Orrissa, which formed as if the core of the teeming millions of India. Janaki Nath, the father of Subhash, was not a native of Cuttack. He was a lawyer and he had established his practice there for some years past. Though he was a resident of Orrissa, he was a Bengali in everything else. His keen intellect and vast knowledge of law gave him a high place in Cuttack society. Janaki Babu was a Government pleader, was the leader of the Cuttack Bar and was the President of the Cuttack Municipality.

The mother of Subhash, Shreemati Prabhavati was a God-fearing religious woman. She was an ideal embodiment of Aryan womanhood. Her sole purpose in life was to worship God, to rear up children and to do whatever uplift work that could be done. Her way of life was very simple and thoroughly self-controlled.

Subhash had a big family to live with. He had five sisters and six brothers. Subhash's growing years were spent in an atmosphere of love and plenty. It is said that even during childhood, Sharat Babu's affection for Subhash was most lavish.

II

EARLY DAYS

Subhash was born in Cuttack, bred up in Cuttack spent his primary as well as secondary years in Cuttack and yet his mind carried a strong impress of the Bengali culture. His psychology was moulded in the true Bengali tradition. The economic condition of Orrissa of those days also left its mark upon his young mind. His father was not a revolutionary but Subhash inherited from him an intensely keen intellect. His mother was of a religious temperament and that nourished in him a love for self-respect along with a love for religion.

His education started with a course at a " Protestant European School " in the city. The inspiration, the tuition and the tradition of the school were foreign in all respects but that could not make any effect on young Subhash's mind. This fact is borne out by the following incident of his early years. One day some English boys were teasing and abusing a Bengali student. They were saying; " Oh, Bengalis ! They are pumpkins. Bengalis are very cunning. One would like to slap them on sight......" and that Bengali boy really did get a good sound slap also. Subhash was standing nearby. He heard and saw everything. His self-respect got a jolt and his blood began to boil. With a lion-like leap he rushed to the place where the British boys were standing and roared: " I am a Bengali ".

The British urchins were frightened by his furious-

looking eyes and threatening roar. Subhash gathered together the Bengali boys who were running helter-skelter. Seeing this, the British boys were manouvering to slip away, but Subhash barred their way and said " I am a Bengali. I am a pumpkin. I am cunning. You would like to give me a slap, eh !......" Up went his hand, the offending British boy received a good sound slap on his cheek and others ran away. This created a good deal of sensation in the whole school, but since that day no white boy ever ventured to tease or abuse a Bengali.

Subhash was fortunate in being initiated into this realm of nationalism at the hands of Beni Babu. A sterling patriot and a revolutionary, Beni Babu was responsible, to a very great extent, for planting the seeds of revolution in the heart of young Subhash. He used to narrate before Subhash the story of the atrocities committed by the East India Company. He explained to him how Maharaj Nand Kumar was hanged and how deceitfully the Company Government had extended its tentacles over this land. After that day, Subhash became a life-long enemy of this Foreign Government.

This is only one side of the picture. The other side was being painted by his mother Prabhavati Devi, who was a devotee of the goddess Mahakali and who used to narrate before him the various tales from our ancient Scriptures. The story of the destruction of Asuras (demons) at the hands of Mahakali always used to excite him intensely. Thus, on one side was his mother—a devotee of Shakti; on the other was his preceptor, a devotee at the shrine of revolution. In between them they were tuning up Subhash so that he would sound a unique note·

in future years.

A third person who had a pretty good share in moulding Subhash's life was his friend. Hemantkumar. He was an excellent friend and he always remained a source of inspiration for Subhash during his youthful years.

Subhash passed his Matriculation Examination at Cuttack. When it was known that he had secured second rank in the whole of the University there was great rejoicing in the family. In 1913 he left Cuttack to join the Presidency College at Calcutta, and from that time the change in his life became more rapid. The sophisticated atmosphere of Calcutta could not induce him to give up the religious traditions which he had imbibed from his mother. The things which be had learned from his *Guru* Beni Babu were forgotten for a time and he came under the spell of Shree Ramkrishna Paramahansa and Shree Vivekananda who were moulding a new Bengal at that time.

Some years back, in Cuttack, a strange incident had shown, of what metal Subhash was made. In a nearby village an epidemic of Cholera was raging in full force. It was taking a heavy toll of budding lives. Some co-students of Subhash decided, motivated by the sole purpose of serving humanity, to go to the affected place. When Subhash came to know of this, he joined the Mercy-Party without informing anybody in the family. The anxiety and grief which his disappearance caused were really very great. His parents especially were literally prostrated.

When after full three days absence Subhash returned all of a sudden a funny and happy scene was enacted in the Bose house-hold. When he hesitatingly entered the house after his escapade, his mother Parbhavati was engaged in

domestic work. The 12 year old Subhash ran towards her and reaching behind her unawares, covered up her eyes with his small tender palms. Mother cried out: " Who is it ? Monisha ? Do not tease me. I am not feeling well to-day. " At this Subhash laughed heartily. His laughter echoed throughout the room. The mother pressed him to her bosom while her lips were uttering all sorts of tender names. Tears swelled into her eyes. She smothered him with her kisses.

Once in Calcutta also, the virulent type of cholera was raging in an epidemic form. But here, Subhash was not required to sneak away from home. Here, he made his home near the sick-beds of the poor and the down trodden. Day in and day out he gave them his unstinted service. He made it a point to move about in labour areas. There slowly he enlarged his field of activities. Over and above treating the sick and the bed ridden, he started night schools in poorer localities, gave whatever help he could to the needy. He even tried to befriend the half-naked, half-starved urchins of the slums. This created a halo of joyful surprise around his personality.

In those days Swami Vivekananda had become the fountain-head of inspiration for all Bengalis. He had a special fascination for the youths. People used to adore and worship Ramakrishna Paramahansa but for Vivekananda they entertained profound love. Subhash also came under his spell. He began to study books written by Swami Vivekananda. As Subhash began to drink the nectar contained in his teachings, his activities also began to show a marked change. His rounds of the poorer-localities lessened considerably. He began to show a marked

indifference towards his academic studies also. Though he was only 17 at that time, he had begun to entertain the idea of renouncing his home and his family and becoming a recluse. This was because of Swami Vivekananda's strong pull on his emotional life. Subhash began to picture himself as the Siddhartha of the Present Era. The words of Swami Vivekananda began to haunt him day and night: "Who, tell me who will hear the call of my Bharatdesha? Oh you young boys and lads! See, the caves and the summits of the Himalayas are beckoning to you. Befriend them for achieving your life's aim."

This thing happened about 30 years ago. At that time the Gandhian influence was wanting. The Indian lads and boys of those days were not wont to go out of the beaten track of humdrum life. Subhash was studying at the Ramakrishna mission at that time. He used to spend hours in meditation and contemplation, searching for that Supreme Peace, which the scriptures have described as the final stage. One day, all of a sudden, the idea of going to the Himalayas struck him with the force of lightening. The words of Swami Vivekananda had infuenced each and every fibre of his body. Moreover he had heard stories about one being able to get a good preceptor who would initiate one into the realm of the Spirit, thus helping one's mind to attain that seldom-achieved state of Supreme Peace. He decided to tread the path which the ancient Rishis had trodden and on a fateful mid-night, renouncing all that was dear and near to him, he set off for an unknown destination in the Himalayas. He wanted to quench the fire that was burning in his heart. He had thought that the Himalayan heights and the renunciation of all that

is worldly, would help him to achieve this end.

This fateful step of Subhash threw the whole family and specially his parents, totally out of gear. They could not sleep, they could not take any rest, they could not find any peace in anything. The family began a countrywide search for Subhash, when Subhash himself half naked and half starved was plodding his way during those cold wintery nights in the direction of the Himalayas.

Days began to roll-off...and the nights also. And what nights they were ! Black and black, when no creature seemed to move about, when the nocturnal beasts of prey used to roam in the jungle in search of ' food ', when even the soft padding of the river-waves sounded frightening, and when the noise made by the leaves, fluttering in the night wind used to remind one of some Goblins death-dance...and when tender-aged Subhash unperturbed and unmoved by all these, was treading the dark, unbeaten tracks of the Himalayan jungles in search of Peace.

Subhash spent six months in this way. Like a devout worshipper he visited all the holy places. Brindaban, Benares, Gaya–from one end to the other he roamed. He met many saints and religious heads. This so to say disillusioned him. The experience he gained during these travels took off the edge of his fervour. With the contact of the saints and the Sanyasis, he began to realise that the thing he sought for they could not give. He became a prey to intense mental agitation. He did reach the Himalayas but by that time it had ceased to attract him. One wise saint advised him to go home and renew his studies. Subhash gave this advice some days of thought. He saw before his eyes his parents, his relatives, his friends. He remembered all those

penniless persons whom he had helped. He remembered his old college books, and as if obeying the instruction of some inner spirit he returned home.

When he reached his ancestral residence, all excepting his mother were sitting in the drawing room. Hence it happened that his mother was the first person to meet him and greet on his return. When Subhash fell at her feet her eyes swelled with tears. Her anger and her love both as if tried to manifest them at the same time. Her bosom began to heave rapidly. She said: " Subhash, you seem to come only to kill me. " Her words reached the drawing room and all those who were present there rushed towards the place from where they had come.

Describing his home-coming Subhash writes in a letter to his friend: " I was hesitant when I alighted from the tram-car and entered my house, my heart might have missed a throb even. When mother saw me, her eyes filled with tears, she said: " You have come into this world only to kill me. " When I went to make my obeisance before my father, he hugged me to his bosom and then led me into another room. There I wept bitterly and freely. At last father also could not control himself. He again pressed me to his bosom and began to weep.

Only on that day the true nature of Subhash's life was revealed to his father. Only on that day did Janki Babu realise what Subhash was. Subhash said: " Vivekananda is my ideal. " His father promised that when Subhash would attain Vivekananda's height he would not and could not come in his way.

In 1915 Subhash wrote a letter to one of his friends. In that he reveals the reason which impelled him to leave

his home and family. In that letter Subhash had written: "As the days roll on, I begin to realise more and more that there is a definite purpose in my life. I feel as if I am living for some mission. I believe that this body of mine is going to become an instrument in the fulfillment of that mission. I should not allow myself to be dragged in the common rut. People might speak ill or otherwise of me but that should not deviate me from my path.

III

PREPARING FOR I. C. S.

The six months of self-imposed "solitary confinement" took their physical toll from Subhash. He had returned home mentally fortified, but his body had worn out. Soon after his return he was bed-ridden, and after that he had an attack of typhoid.

He rejoined college in 1915 and after a short time passed his First Year examination. He began to take more interest in his studies and with the decrease in his religious fervour his revolutionary instincts again began to assert themselves. The circumstances also conspired to make these instincts more firmly established than ever.

In Subhash's college there was one European Professor, Mr. C. F. Oaten by name, who was notorious for his racial arrogance. He always behaved as if he was a ruler by virtue of his being a European. His behaviour invariably became insulting whenever he had to deal with Indian students. On the other hand Subhash now was not only a self-respecting Indian but he used to take it very ill if the honour of his country was ever maligned. He had developed by then, enough understanding and enough pride-the pride born of rightful indignation to oppose any insult thrown in India's face. The sense of patriotism which he exhibited in the Cuttack school, had become more intense.

One day Professor Oaten, with his usual arrogance, slapped an Indian student of the B. A. class. Subhash had always entertained a sense of repugnance towards this

Professor. He was an object of constant irritation for Subhash. In this state of affairs, the slapping incident only acted as the last straw. It added fuel to the already burning fire. Subhash raised a hue and cry against Professor Oaten. He demanded that such a Professor should be dismissed and packed off to England. He convened a private meeting of the students and called upon all of them to go on strike and make known their protest. It should be remembered that these things were happening in the year 1916. The conditions obtaining at that time were totally different from the present-day conditions. So excepting Subhash who else could take the lead in this affair ? Subhash created a colossal agitation. The strike began to gain in strength day by day. The then newspapers of Calcutta gave Subhash their full support. The authorities had at last to give in. An impartial tribunal was appointed to enquire into the causes of the strike and give an award. The award was in favour of the students. But the defeated and distracted Professor manouvered to win over the Principal to his side and after some time, the authorities of the College decided to take disciplinary action against the leaders of the strike. Subhash was rusticated not only from his college but also from his University for a period of two years. Some others were also given the same kind of punishment.

Subhash was not at all worried by this. He told all those who came to give him consolation ; " Do not worry. Let the studies go to dogs. We will serve the poor. That will be pleasurable enough. " Subhash's father thought differently. The incident acted more or less like a blow to his heart. He could not foresee what sort of man his son was

going to be when grown up. The only way to make him stalk the beaten track or worldly pleasures was to engage his attention in academic studies. So he moved heaven and earth to get the order of rustication rescinded but to no purpose. Subhash had to remain out of college for years.

After that period was over Sir Ashutosh opened the doors of his " Scottish Church College " for Subhash. Sir Ashutosh had nothing but love and affection for Subhash and under his guidance Subhash passed his B. A. examination in first class. Subhash underwent a course of military training also. This course was then recently started in his college.

After B. A. what next ? This question was posed before Subhash. His father of course had already drawn up a programme for him, but that was not acceptable to him. His psychological make-up was drawing him in quite the opposite direction. His father was well-to-do and well-known. He had always entertained a wish that his brilliant son Subhash should join the select coterie of the Indian Civil Service and thus add the final touch of glory to the family's fair name. Secretly he had entertained a hope that if Subhash agreed to this, he would ultimately be weaned away from his chosen path of national and spiritual puritanism. Choosing a suitable occasion Janki Babu placed his proposal before Subhash. Subhash did not express any clear opinion at that time but his abhorrence of the idea was clearly visible on face. Yet his father had no eye to notice this. He even tried to enlist the support of Subhash's friends and relatives.

Subhash did not want to go in for I. C. S. His ideal in life was not to become a servant of the Government but to become a servant of his country. He could not tolerate even a suggestion of joining Government Service.

The mental agitation which his father's proposal had started became more and more intense with the passage of time. The surcharged atmosphere of the country began to exert a pull on Subhash. The love of his country began to well up in his heart.

Those were Jalianwala Baug days. Gandhiji had returned to India and had become the guiding spirit of her political activities. A surging tide of awakening was sweeping the land. The first World-War had just ended and the promises given to India were being openly very lavish with their words. The Indian people had refused to accept the Rowlett Act without a murmur. A colossal and country-wide agitation was started. Thousnds of young men like Subhash had come into the open to give a fight to the alien ruler. Government on their part had started repression in full force. The Khilafat movement had united the Hindus and the Muslims into one entity.

How could Subhash, of all persons agree to become a civil servant when things were moving like this ? The call of sacrifice had set the blood coursing through his veins. But atmosphere which took Subhash in its grip and prevented him from going over to England made his father more firmly convinced than ever that Subhash must go to England. He had seen that if Subhash remained here, he would plunge heart and soul into the fight that was raging in the land from one end to the other. This attitude of Janki Babu worried Subhash all the more. All around him there were arrests, lathi-charges and firings. Subhash was straining at the leash, to take his due share of it all.

At that time Hemanta Kumar, that close friend of Subhash, who was also a philosopher and a guide for him



The Tricolour fluttered high, Filling the whole Sky.

'Zindagi Ya Maut' Iska Motto, 'Delhi Ko' Iska Jangi Tarana Hai

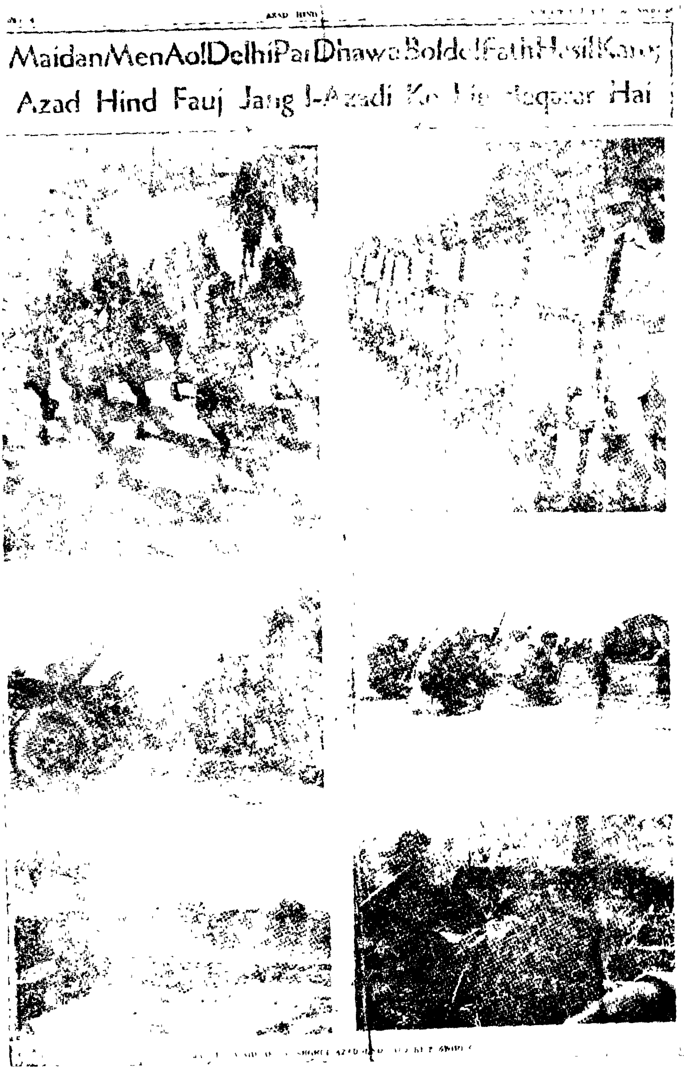




Do or die–that is the motto



Fighters for India's freedom : They wanted to lay down their lives at the alter of liberty



Maidan Men Ao! Delhi Par Dhawa Bolde! Fath Hasil Karo

Azad Hind Fauj Jang-I-Azadi Ke Liye Muqarrar Hai

Come on boys! March on to Delhi!
Victory is yours.



The incomparable lieutenent colonel Laxmi.



Thus the Indians kept the loving memory of their martyrs alive

told him, " The fight for freedom of our country will last for years...You are born to be great...You have set a high ideal for you. You must go to England and acquire whatever knowledge you can. You must study the world-sweeping cross-currents of the New Era. " Subhash hesitatingly replied: " The pity of the whole thing is that if I am successful I shall be required to accept Government Service and then what about my mission and my ideal ?" Inspite of this Hemanta Kumar did not give in and one day Subhash agreed to go to England. We get a glimpse of his mental grief from the letters he had written to his friends at that time.

In one of the letters he writes : " I have spent these last days in intense mental agitation. I have given my consent to my father's proposal yet my heart cannot agree that my decision is right. "

In another letter written to his younger brother he says : " Yes, I am going to England but the irreconcilable elements of my mind have not ceased their strife. My duty towards my enslaved country and my 30 crores countrymen is plain. Our country will be free only when thousands like myself will sacrifice themselves at its alter. "

How strange it sounds ! " I am going to England for entering the Civil Service for becoming a Government servant and yet my goal is the service of the motherland. How can these two things be reconciled ? After examinations are over I shall have to take decisions afresh. At present my only wish is to go to Europe and study the conditions of the new world. I am going to utilize to the full the opportunity afforded to me by our father. "

And thus Subhash reached England. He started his studies as soon as he set foot in that foreign soil. There is an age limit for Civil Service aspirants and if Subhash did not pass the examination in course of the next few months he would be permanantly debarred. He started his studies in right earnest. How could a self-respecting young man like him tolerate the idea of failure?

But in England also conflict was awaiting him. In one of the books prescribed for I. C. S. Examination there was an insulting reference about Indians. Subhash registered his protest against this. In reply to his letter of protest the India Office answered: " All the candidates study this book. You mind your studies. Do not meddle in other things." But it was not in the nature of Subhash to retreat from a chosen line of action. He refused to give in and continuously raised his voice of protest as and when occasion demanded. At last the offending words had to be deleted from the book in question. When Subhash passed the I. C. S. Examination in 1920 the state of his mind was divided. On one hand he was considering his success as a " misfortune " for him while on the other hand he confessed that he could never brook the idea of failure.

That was his first visit to England. In the beginning because of the ideas imbibed during his childhood he used to look down upon everything English with utmost scorn. He once wrote in a letter to his friend: " When I see the Britishers polishing my shoes I feel a sense of joy and pride." But this state of his mind did not last long. As he came in close contact with the English race, he began to realise and appreciate its greatness and its finer points. Once he heard Sarojini Naidu in England. He was simply

charmed. He wrote to his friend Hemant Kumar: "My pride knew no bounds when I heard Sarojini Devi. Her education, erudition and upbringing was superb and when I saw such a lady standing before the Western World with her head aloft, my heart was filled with joy. I felt that a country which could produce such a gem cannot but have a bright future."

His appreciation of the finer points of the British race becomes manifest from some of the other letters he had written at that time. He had written: "It is a real joy to see the various activities of the people here. Everybody has a keen sense of time and everything is done systematically......It is only here that men treat others as men in their mutual dealings. You do not see beggars anywhere in this land."

In another letter he writes: "The main defect in the social arrangement of our country is that those who have an inclination to work are overburdened with work while those who want to shirk can do so very easily. In this country people possess certain qualities which really make them great. The people here are real optimists. In our country people always bewail and bemoan their difficulties. Here, they talk more about happiness joy and God-given light."

Subhash while observing these qualities of the Britishers was studying world conditions also. His fervour for achieving his goal had not diminished. He still used to be intensely grieved at the continued enslavement of his country. He studied the working of the British Imperialist machinery as closely as possible. Along with passing his I. C. S. Examination he obtained other University Degrees also.

But what next ? This question always used to agitate his mind. A conflict of ideals had already begun. This conflict is again manifest in his letters to his friends. At last he could not contain himself. One night he made his final decision " Government Service is definitely out of question. I must resign."

Next morning Subhash went in person to the Office of the Secretary of State for India to hand in his resignation. Mr. Montague was in charge of that office at that time. He saw the scintillating brilliance of this young man. He tried his best to dissuade him from his chosen course. He even said that Subhash could serve his country even while remaining in Service but Subhash could not be convinced. His intellectual agitation and his emotional unrest continued to disturb him unabated. At last he handed in his resignation. At one place Subhash says : " I passed the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1920, but I was soon after convinced that I could not serve two masters—one British Government and the other my own country—at one and the same time. For me it looked impossible. So in May 1921 I resigned and started off for India to become a fighter in the cause of freedom and thus to serve my country to the best of my ability."

IV

INITIATION IN NATIONAL SERVICE

When Subhash returned to India on 16th July 1921 the atmosphere of the country was even more tense and surcharged than what it was when he had left. The Jalianwala Baug Massacre and the Khilafat question had started a series of protests which culminated in a country-wide agitation. Gandhiji had become the idol for all India. Jail, lathis and firings were everywhere in vogue. The popular awakening seemed to have taken a substantial stride forward since the days of the Partition of Bengal. The cry of uprooting the British Empire and securing independence in one year was rending the air throughout the length and breadth of this great land. When Subhash dreaming all sorts of glorious dreams landed on the shore of India he was nothing more than an awakened and self-respecting Indian youth. Subhash went straight to Mahatmaji after landing in Bombay. Subhash at least knew that the guiding Spirit of 1921 non-cooperation movement was none else but Gandhiji. When Subhash approached him for getting "Light" his mind was untainted by any sort of prejudice. He had on the contrary begun to adore and admire him. But after his first meeting with Gandhiji Subhash experienced a sort of disappointment. The great man's psychology which has since then revealed itself according to the need of the occasion could not be appreciated in its entirety at that time. Subhash was not only psychologically different from Gandhiji but certain

aspects of his nature and his thought process were in total contrast from those of Gandhiji. Subhash says that he found Gandhiji vague about practically everything. He asked Gandhiji all sorts of questions. He tried to understand Gandhiji's plan of action and to fathom the working of his mind. He even asked point blank how Gandhiji hoped to achieve independence in one year. Gandhiji on his part did not spare any pain in persuading and trying to convince Subhash but Subhash was not to be convinced. He thought that Gandhiji was incapable of looking beyond tne present and that he had no plan for 'To-morrow" He left Gandhiji with a sense of disappointment and a sort of mental shock. He then went to Bengal and saw Deshbandhu Das.

Deshbandhu Das occupied an important place amongst the natural leaders of 1920-21. He was the accredited and accepted leader of Bengal. He had renounced an astoundingly flourishing practice—he was a lawyer—and chosen the path of a pauper for the sake of his motherland. The brilliance of his intellect was a subject of surprise for all. True, he had come under the spell of Gandhiji but he in his turn had cast his spell on Gandhiji also. Deshbandhu was a hundred percent Bengali. He had the heart of a poet and a revolutionary. Bengal was mad after him. Many legends about his routine activities had become current. His cultured wife who till yesterday never used to walk even a step was to-day roaming about the streets of Calcutta selling precious Khaddar and at the same time awakening the sleeping lion that Bengal was.

As soon as Subhash set his foot on the soil of Bengal the stories of Deshbandhu's sacrifice, his renunciation and his ability reached him. He began to be more and more

attracted towards him and became Deshbandhu's desciple. Even during his first meeting with him, Subhash says that he obtained what he was hankering for. Deshbandhu dispelled all his doubts and explained to him the logical meaning of the Non-cooperation movement. Subhash without a moment's hesitation became Deshbandhu's lieutenant and girded up his loins to rally round the tricolour banner and to obey Deshbandhu's order.

Deshbandhu did not take long to evaluate this young man's abilities. Subhash was entrusted with various responsible tasks. The main programme of the non-cooperation movement was threefold. First, boycott of schools and colleges; second, boycott of Government service and pleaders' practice; and third, boycott of foreign cloth along with propagating the cause of Swadeshi.

The defination of Swadeshi had undergone a radical change. The spinning wheel had established itself as an important entity in the Indian political arena. Thick and coarse khaddar had become the choice garment of the elite. Subhash could not remain aloof from all this.

Those were the days when National Universities were being established all over the land. In Punjab Lala Lajpatrai, the lion-hearted leader of that land of five rivers, had started a National University. In Bengal Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das was also thinking of starting one such University. When in a few days' time he realised how able Subhash was, he entrusted to him the responsible task of establishing the National University. Subhash had passed his I. C. S. examination. His knowledge was vast. His study of literature was also considerable. He was not much of an orator but when he spoke, he spoke direct from his

heart and this could not but leave a deep impression on the mind of his audience. While he was engaged in activities connected with the establishment of the National University he thought out a plan of starting an association of students and youths. He tried to fulfill the dreams of his boyhood years. In no time he became the leader of the Bengali youth.

Right in the midst of all these, an announcement was made by the Government that the then "Prince of Wales" was shortly to visit India. The declared purpose of his visit was to congratulate India "for its magnificent share in the war" that had ended some three years ago. India had already received its reward for its war efforts in the form of Jalianwala Baug Massacre. That massacre had proved to be a force which cemented the various communities of India together and inspired them to achieve independence at all costs. As soon as Gandhiji came to know of the heir-apparent's impending visit he declared that India would refuse to welcome him. On the contrary it would oppose his visit with all the force at its command. India would not brook this attempt at aggravating an already festering sore.

A tide of protest was sweeping the land. Subhash at last got work which satisfied his youthful vigour. At Gandhiji's call the whole country went into mourning. There were strikes everywhere. In this Calcutta was in the forefront.

Government till then had not unsheathed its sword of repression. The Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on 21st November. That day Bombay saw very great trouble which had its repercussions all over the country. But

the real climax came on the 25th December. On that day the Prince of Wales was to visit Calcutta according to schedule. It was arranged to hang Union Jack buntings across the street and to fly Union Jack flags on all the important buildings; but when the city woke up in the morning it saw that there were black flags everywhere in place of Union Jacks. At once the Volunteer Corps established by Subhash was declared illegal and the whole of Bengal became as it were ignited. Government realised the gravity and tenseness of the situation and without a moments's delay clapped Deshabandhu Das, his wife Vasanti Devi, his son, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Subhash Babu behind prison-bars. At that time Deshbandhu gave the following message to Bengal: "Today my hands are hand-cuffed my body is burdened with the chains of slavery. The fire which has started in Calcutta has had its origin in these chains. When the whole of India is a vast prison it is immaterial whether I remain outside the Jail or inside. Keep the Congress flag flying. Let not the question whether I am alive or dead, free or incarcerated divert your attention. Subhash was tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. At that time he exclaimed," Only six months ! It is too little a reward for the trouble I have taken."

This was Subhash's first imprisonment. It is only a matter of conjecture what effect this incident must have had on Subhash's parents. When 18 months ago they had sent their dear son to England they must have built castles in the air about his returning home as a big officer, about his marrying and enjoying the pleasures that the world has to give. They must have felt very happy imagining things... but now......?

Now Subhash's father did not grieve, he did not weep and inspite of his possessing a good deal of influence he did not try to get his son released. The father looked upon the metamorphosis in his son's life with a pinch of grief intermingled with a sense of surprise.

In September 1922 Subhash was released from Jail. He came out a bigger revolutionary than ever. Six months of imprisonment could not break up his courage. On the contrary, he came out more courageous.

Outside, a big task was awailing him. This task was of a kind in which he had had no grooming. Great floods had devastated the land of Bengal. Thousands of villages were washed away. Thousands of persons had become desitutes. Subhash instantaneously took the responsibility of relief work upon himself and gave Bengal an inkling of the amazing organising ability that he possessed. This was the way in which Subhash was being groomed.

The country was in a state of flux. Gandhiji was in Jail. The movement had suffered a temporary setback. New reforms were granted to India and in Congress itself new thought-processes had begun to manifest themselves. While the leaders like Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Moti-lal Nehru were in favour of parliamentary programme, some close followers of Gandhiji were still clinging to the original idea of non-cooperation. In such times the Congress held its annual session at Gaya under the presidentship of Deshabandhu Das. In this session the non-cooperators formed a strong block under the leadership of Rajaji while against them a new party named "Swaraj Party" was formed. There was a good deal of conflict and at one time people saw even the possibility of a division amongst the

ranks of Congressmen. But this possibility did not materialise. Everything ended well.

For Subhash the Gaya session of the Congress was historic because it was here that Subhash first began to take part in Congress politics, though he had still to attain the great heights which other leaders had reached. This he did when he was made the editor of the "Forward" by Deshabandhu Das. He was given the responsibility of popularising and propagating the new line of thought through the medium of its columns. He did this work with amazing ability. Subhash was only a young man of 25 at that time.

In 1924 Congress decided to contest Calcutta Corporation elections. Deshbandhu Das was the leader and at the first attempt they scored a resounding success. Deshbandhu became the Mayor of the first city in India. He made Subhash his Executive Officer. Subhash was only 27 at that time and his appointment as an Executive Officer created a good deal of commotion in Calcutta. Anglo-Indian papers even made allegations of nepotism against Deshbandhu. But in a few months the opponents were chastened. Subhash accepted only Rs. 1500 as his remuneration though his post carried a salary of 3,000 Rupees monthly. This sacrifice made a good effect on his opponents. Subhash did a lot in the direction of making Calcutta a clean and a beautiful city. He did many other things which ultimately benefitted the people. A radical change was effected in the administration of the Calcutta Corporation. The name-plates hanging at the corners of the streets of Calcutta were changed. The names of the "brave warriors" of the time of East India Company

were effaced and the names of our national leaders took their place. Khaddar became the chosen item of everybody's apparel. Instead of presenting civil addresses to Viceroys, Governors and big officers, the Corporation started to honour the country's leaders. He made the primary education free for the first time. Thus Subhash started many innovations and they in turn began to turn the popular tide in his favour.

Here a strange similarity must not be lost sight of. It seems that many great leaders of our country have given first proofs of their great organising ability through the medium of Municipal administration. Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal, Lala Lajpatrai, Sardar Vallabhbhai, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others have adorned the principal seats on the various municipalities of the land. Subhash added his own name to this select list and thus enlisted the confidence of the leaders in his favour. People on their part had already begun to love him.

V

THE ORDEAL OF IMPRISONMENT

The drama which we witnessed in the course of the last chapter was only a superficial manifestation of the internal unrest with which the country was seething. The cross currents of this unrest had been flowing in various directions during the immediate past. In the early hours of October 25th 1924, when Calcutta was snugly reposed in a soothing slumber, the Police Commissioner of Calcutta knocked at Subhash Babu's doors. The whole family was on its feet in an instant. Everybody was surprised to see the Police Commissioner at the door. When Subhash came down he was shown a warrant for his arrest. This arrest was being effected according to the New Bengal Ordinance which had come into being only a few hours before. The Viceroy had issued this new fiat to strike a mortal blow at the growing cadre of the Indian revolutionary. This New Ordinance gave the executive the powers of arrest and detention without trial. These powers were used to clap Subhash behind prison-bars.

Those were the days when the renowned revolutionaries of Bengal had again started a conflagration. After the colossal effort of 1857 to regain our lost independence some years of darkness had intervened. Then Congress had come into being and experiments at securing independence by means of memorandums and resolutions were made. The failure of these attempts had driven the freedom-loving Indians to the path of Martyrdom. Bengal had

taken a lead in this direction. The emotional youths of Bengal began to play with bombs not even caring a jot for the consequences. With Gandhiji's advent on the Indian arena a new ray of hope had been discernible and that had induced these revolutionaries to agree to a change in their methods and tactics but the experiment of the non-cooperation did not achieve the success which it was supposed to achieve. Government did not give in. Gandhiji was imprisoned. A great wave of disappointment swept over the land and the revolutionaries again girded up their loins to start their activities. A study of the contemporary history of Bengal convinces us that the path of Martyrdom has a strong appeal for the Bengali youth. Their hearts begin to dance with joy when such a prospect is in sight. They never have the patience to take a long range view. They seemed to say that "the plant-bed in which the young plant of freedom is growing must always be kept flooded with the blood of young martyrs so that the plant may not dry up.*

It was such Bengal that Deshbandhu Das and Subhash Babu were called upon to lead and in no time they had become the fountainhead of inspiration for Young Bengal. The status and position of Deshbandhu was such that the Government did not dare to make a direct attack upon him but they did not spare Subhash. They attacked him unawares and clapped him in prison. The "Statesman" and other semi-government news-papers of Calcutta wrote in these days that the real brain behind the revolutionary movement in Bengal was that of Subhash. These allega-

* सूख न जाय कहीं पौधा ये आज़ादीका
इसे इसलिये अपने खून से तर करते हैं ।

tions were universally resented. The wrath of Deshbandhu knew no bounds. He challenged the Government to try Subhash in an open Court of Law and prove these allegations but the Government was not prepared to do it because if it were, why should it have found it necessary to issue the fiat mentioned in the beginning of the chapter?

At last a libel was instituted against the "Statesman." It was asked to prove its allegations that Subhash was behind all the violent activities. The proprietors of the "Statesman" spared no pains in searching for the necessary evidence. The C. I. D. gave them all the help they needed. The thing had its repercussion even in India Office. But all to no purpose. The allegations could not be proved. The case became a long drawn out affair. Libel also could not be proved against the "Statesman" and at the end of six months the thing was hushed up.

Subhash was kept in Calcutta jail in the beginning but thinking that his proximity acted as a continual spark he was removed to Alipur jail and one day in the dead of night when the whole of Bengal was heavily asleep he was packed off to the Andamans. There were seven other comrades along with Subhash. When he came to know that he and his comrades were being taken to the Andamans he was not in the least perturbed. He did not evince even a slight touch of fear. On the contrary he experienced a sense of joy and going before his comrades with his head held aloft he said "We are going to a place where the idol of Indian Nation–Lokmanya Tilak–had stayed for six long years and the soil of which was sanctified by the lotus feet of Lala Lajpatrai, the lion of Punjab."

A friend who was entrusted with the task of breaking

these news about Subhash to Subhash's father, really felt very hesitant. He was afraid that Janki Babu would begin to shed tears and that he would not be able to bear this fresh shock. But lo! Janki Babu did nothing of this sort. He received the news with complete composure and when the narration was over he said "To-day my heart is filled with pride for what Subhash has done." This had an electrifying effect on Subhash's brothers, sisters, relatives and friends.

After this we come across a dark period. No detail as to what happened after Subhash went to jail is available. We only know that he and his comrades had started a hunger-strike in the February of 1926. In Bengal the Durga Puja is a great and important event. The Bengali prisoners of Andamans and Burma asked for some special facilities to observe this Puja. The Government had refused to give these facilities and that was the reason why Subhash and his comrades had to go on hunger-strike. The Government tried their best to suppress this news but it was not to be and the whole of Bengal became overnight a vast conflagration. At last the Government had to come to terms.

After that the people never ceased to demonstrate their feeling of and on but Government continued its convenient silence. For full one and a half years the Government flouted the will of the people when at long last the people found out a new way. In the November of 1926 the election for the Legislative chambers of Bengal were due. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee decided that Subhash Babu and one of his comrades Mr. Mitra should be the official Congress candidates This news sent

a wave of joy and enthusiasm all over the city of Calcutta. Anxiety was written large on the face of Government officials. Efforts were started in full force to see that Subhash Babu's opponents became successful though these attempts were doomed to fail. None could stand against the tide of popular will and Subhash, as also his friend Mr. Mitra were elected with a thumping majority.

But the Government still would not give in. People began to demand in and outside the legislatures that Subhash should either be released or else he should be tried in an open court. Then one day people heard that all was not well with Subhash's health and that he had lost 40 pounds of his weight during his stay in prison. In the April of 1927 news filtered through from Mandalay that Subhash was completely bed-ridden and that if he continued in that state for any length of time his life would be in danger. The country became anxious and aggrieved. Cries of protest against the Government began to be heard all over the place. The Government willingly or unwillingly had to go through the formality of getting medical opinion. Three well known doctors opined that Subhash could no longer be kept at Mandlay with safety. This forced the Government to shift Subhash from Mandlay to Rangoon. They could not yet think of releasing him from prison altogether.

In Rangoon also Subhash's health did not improve. On the contrary it continued to deteriorate. At last a medical Mssion was sent out from Calcutta to examine him. Acting according to the recommendations made by this Mission the Government declared that if Subhash would wish to go to Switzerland to improve his health

Government would be prepared to release him. Their only condition would be that Subhash should proceed straight to Switzerland from Rangoon; he should neither break his journey anywhere nor should he see anybody on his way. Subhash instantaneously refused to accept these insulting conditions. He replied " I do not want to save my skin at the cost of my self respect."

At last Government had to give in. They transferred him from Rangoon to Calcutta on May 15th 1927. There again he was medically examined. This examination convinced the Government that continued incarceration of Subhash would involve a risk to his life as well as a risk of a strong conflagration flaring up everywhere in the country. So the next day they released him unconditionally. When Subhash was taken away from our midst in 1924 he was a young man bubbling with energy, enthusiasm and fine health. When he came back in 1927 his tall and athletic body had broken down. He could hardly leave his bed unaided. He had sunken eyes......he had lost many things, only one thing he had not lost and that was his burning patriotism and love for his country.

VI

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

Subhash was still convalescing after his illness and slowly recovering from the effects of his imprisonment but he had still to recover himself from the deep blow he had received by the sudden death of Deshbandhu in 1925 while he was in Mandalay Jail. Subhash more or less had lost his father in the death of Deshbandhu, for Deshbandhu was at once a protective wall and a fountain-head of inspiration for Subhash. He used to protect Subhash from the scorching heat of life's little ironies and to inspire courage in him whenever he felt fatigued and exhausted. This was a time of great adversity for Subhash but even then he did not lose his head. He understood his responsibility. Deshbandhu had reposed complete faith and confidence in him and so he on his part decided at once to remain faithful to the memory of Deshbandhu to the end. He did not allow Bengal to be leaderless. He decided even while he was bed-ridden to take up the responsibilities of Deshbandhu upon his head and to discharge them to the best of his abilities. This decision had a psychological effect on his body also. He began to improve rapidly and when he was just able to leave his bed and walk about, an offer was made to him for the Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. He instantaneously accepted this offer and plunged head-long into the whirlpool of political activities.

Congress was at that time vegetating. Gandhiji had taken up constructive work after his release. Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience or direct action was not heard of.

How could a man with the dynamic personality of Subhash put up with this for any length of time ? His incarceration at Mandalay had elevated him in the eyes of the whole nation. The progressive and leftist elements of the country were rallying round him. At the other end Pandit Jawahar seemed to be coming up ready to be at the helm of affairs of newly-awakened India. In Madras Mr. Iyengar was instilling new ideas in the minds of the younger generation. It had become manifest that impatience was the second nature of Bengal. Subhash was striving his best to do something. On the other hand Gandhiji had more or less retired from the field.

Such was the state of affairs when the Madras Session of the Congress was held. That religious and renowned Muslim Dr. Ansari whom India can never forget was at the helm of affairs. In this Session the leftist elements came to the fore front. Pandit Jawaharlal, Subhash Babu and Mr. Shweb Kureishi were appointed secretaries of the All India Congress Committee. This was the first time when Subhash entered into the arena of the internal politics of the Congress.

Soon after, there were signs of the change that was coming over the country. The rejuvenating and invigorating writings of Gandhiji again began to belch out their old fire. A Commission well-known in history as the "Simon Commission" was appointed to make recommendations regarding the future constitution of India. Though the Commission was scheduled to tour India not a single Indian was appointed to serve on it.

Britain hoped to divert the newly-found awakening of India into a different channel by this attempt at camouflage but Gandhiji saw through the game and he asked the country to have nothing to do with the Commission. The Congress officially passed a resolution reiterating its desire to boycott the Commission. A new life seemed to have been instilled into the body politic of the Nation. Subhash again came into his own. His heart began to dance with joy and enthusiasm at the prospect of a fight.

The Congress on its part took up the challenge of the Britishers and appointed a Committee to prepare a constitution for India. That renowned lawyer Pandit Motilal Nehru was made its President. Subhash was also given a place on the Committee. After a great deal of labour the Committee prepared a memorable document which ultimately came to be known as the Nehru Report.

This report accepted the "Dominion Status" as the ultimate goal of India. Subhash could not see eye to eye with this and he took steps to make his difference of opinion public. Thus Subhash now began to take a line all his own.

At the other end the intensity of the boycott of Simon Commission surpassed all optimistic anticipation. Wherever the Commission went it was greeted with the cries of "Simon Go Back." Thousands and thousands waited at public places with black flags. In Punjab the Police wantonly injured Lala Lajpatrai on his chest. In U. P. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also was injured. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari the country was seething with agitation and unrest. These were happy days for Subhash. He was to be seen everywhere doing all sorts of things.

Then came the historical fight of the Bardoli Kisans. This gave the country a chance to appreciate and admire a new warrior who later became the beloved Sardar of all. At the time of the Bardoli fight people at large hardly knew his name. But his conduct of the fight attracted the attention of the whole nation towards him. People knew that they had found in him a new and talented leader. People like Subhash became more enthusiastic than ever at the success of this fight. They clamoured for creating Bardoli everywhere in the country. Subhash when he could not contain himself went to Gandhiji but Gandhiji was not prepared for a country-wide struggle. Subhash returned disappointed. Thereafter countless Conferences were held and countless resolutions demanding struggle were passed. The unrest which was surging in the heart of Subhash Babu was manifesting itself in the form of these conferences and their antecedent propaganda.

Then came the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress. Pandit Motilalji was chosen as the Rashtrapati–the elected President of the Congress Session. At that time two distinct lines of thought were discernible in the country. On one side were Motilalji, Rajaji and others, and on the other side were Motilalji's illustrious son Jawaharlal and the shining light of Bengal–Subhash Babu. A strange conflict seemed to be impending. Gandhiji had not come out of his retirement till then and people thought that if Gandhiji did not attend the Session there was every likelihood of its breaking down. At last Motilalji was successful in prevailing upon Gandhiji to attend the session. At that time, the leader of the opposition was Mr. Iyengar. Jawahar and Subhash were with him.

The responsibility of receiving and accommodating the Congress Delegates was given to Subhash. He was made the G. O. C. of the Volunteer Corps His military attire was a subject of attraction even then. Everybody used to say that Subhash looked like a Commanding General But who knew at that time that one day he was to become a Commanding General and was to lead the first National Army of India ?

When the conflict of ideas became apparent during the Calcutta Session Gandhiji came to the fore front and again assumed command. As a first step he won over Iyengar to his side. Subhash says that the leftist element had rallied in pretty good strength at the Calcutta Session but Gandhiji's personal magnetism as well as his threat that if his advice was not accepted he would retire from the Congress, carried the day for him and the leftist elements were defeated. Gandhiji was mainly responsible for the victory of the right wing. Subhash, true to his ideals, remained with the opposition. It was decided at the Session that it would be well and good if the British Government granted " Dominion Status " to India within one year but if they did not do it the Congress would declare complete independance as its goal. This meant that it would then seek to sever all connections with Britain.

The period of one year soon passed off. A wave of awakening and excitement began to sweep over the land. Gandhiji declared from the house-tops that he would wait and hope till the midnight of 31st December. If Britain would not have given " Dominion Status " to India by the time the Zero hour struck, Congress would declare Complete Independence as its goal. It would then not hesitate

to sacrifice anything and everything to achieve that goal.

Those were the days just preceding the Lahore Session of the Congress. The atmosphere was reverberating with the cry of the coming fight. Gandhiji's name was the first to be suggested for the Presidentship of the Session. The second name to be suggested was that of the Victor of Bardoli Sardar Patel and the third name was that of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhiji refused to become the President and Sardar also acting on Gandhiji's advice withdrew his candidature in favour of Jawaharlal. Subhash says that that was a shrewd and diplomatic move of Gandhiji. It was a part of the plan to win over the leftist elements to his side. Jawahar's becoming the President left the leftists without a leader.

The Lahore Session was scheduled to meet in the last days of the year 1929. Just before it met the speaker of the then Central Legislative Assembly and a very shrewd and unique diplomat Shreejut Vithalbhai Patel could manage to arrange a meeting between the then Viceroy Lord Irwin and Gandhiji. During the days preceding the Lahore Session Gandhiji, Motilalji, and Speaker Patel met the Viceroy in a conclave but the Government did not give any satisfactory answer to the Congress demand and the dream of "Dominion Status" vanished into thin air. On that day Subhash must have been probably the happiest of men.

The news that the negotiations had failed electrified the whole country. After the success of the Bardoli struggle in 1928 the people were straining at the leash for a final fight for freedom. The younger elements of the country had practically become uncontrollable. Numerous delegates of the Congress coming from the far away nooks

and corners of India were flocking on the banks of the Ravi River just outside the city of Lahore to take the pledge of Complete Independence. The month of December in Punjab is intensely cold and this cold could not have been borne by the lacs of people gathered there, had there not been raging an eternal fire in their hearts. Gandhiji then had completely cast off his robe of retirement. It was symptomatic of the new generation coming into its own that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to occupy the seat of the President. It looked as if the new generation was being given the charge of affairs. Subhash–that tiger among men–was giving final touches to the plan of decisively defeating the British Government. The atmosphere was becoming more and more tense.

Gandhiji, true to his word, waited till the last moment for a statement from the Government even though it was finally known that no such statement was coming. At last at the stroke of 12 on the midnight of 31st December, 1929, the position dramatically changed. The Congress shed its indifference and stood up as if to give a fight. At the stroke of 12, Jawaharlal jumped down from the dais he was sitting on and joined the congregation that was marching on towards the Zenda–chawk (flag–salutation ground). Exactly on the stroke of twelve he unfurled the flag of Complete Independence and the sky was rent with the cry of "Inquilab Zindabad", coming from the countless throats. If we examine the various stages through which our war cries have paased, we should see that that was the second stage. The partition of Bengal gave us the cry of "Bande Mataram". Lahore gave us the cry of "Inquilab Zindabad" and 1942 gave us the

cry of "Quit India". At the same time Subhash Babu had let forth the cry of "Jai Hind" and "Chalo Delhi" from the soil of greater Asia.

The resolution about Complete Independence was drafted by Gandhiji and it was put before the Session also by him. Numerous amendments to the resolution were proposed, the most remarkable of which was one proposed by Subhash Babu.

Subhash had then come to the end of his patience and he had suggested starting parallel governments. Gandhiji did not accept this suggestion and after a good deal of hot discussion the amendment was rejected. During the discussion, when Gandhiji was replying to the arguments advanced by Subhash Babu, he was all the while paying tributes to his patriotism and his courage.

True, Subhash Babu was not successful in carrying through his resolution, but the atmosphere that was obtaining in the country just after the Lahore Session, gave a cause of deep satisfaction to Subhash. On the 26th of January, the first " Independence Day " was observed throughout the land. These celebrations served as a measuring rod, an instrument to evaluate the extent of the country's awakening. Gandhiji decided to launch a final fight for freedom and the historical march on Dandi began on the 12th March. It was a unique and unheard-of spectacle, the like of which history has never witnessed The Government at first could not grasp the gravity of the situation, but when it did, it pounced upon the leaders of the Nation. All the leaders were arrested, and kept behind prison bars. It is no wonder that Subhash was also one of them. He was a jail bird and he was again sent to his old jail.

VII

RASHTRAPATI SUBHASH

Here we have to record a painful incident, which had occurred on 21st April in the Alipore Jail. When Subhash and his colleagues were kept in the Alipore Jail some prisoners arrested for revolutionary activities were brought there. These prisoners refused to be locked up as a protest against the bad treatment meted out to them. They raised a hue and cry and seeing that something was amiss, Subhash, Sen Gupta and other leaders ran up to the spot. Seeing them and anticipating a sympathetic support from them the revolutionaries were elated. The Jail authorities sensing trouble asked Subhash and others to disperse, but they refused to obey this order and the Pathan Officer without much ado attacked them. Subhash was belaboured so heavily that he lost consciousness. For days afterwards, he was bed-ridden and for pretty long time the wounds inflicted by that cruel officer used to cause him pain.

The atmosphere of the country was slowly reaching the boiling point and it was to the liking of Subhash. Yes, he was not fully satisfied with the conduct of the struggle on strictly Gandhian principles, but the consequent popular awakening used to send a thrill of joy through his heart.

The Calcutta Corporation elections came off during the time of Subhash's incarceration. The people elected their leader as the Mayor of the city. Subhash was released in September but only after three months he was re-arrested.

Then came the days of Gandhi-Irwin Pact. When

Subhash used to hear that attempts were being made for a compromise, he really became uneasy. He believed that the contemplated compromise would kill the people's spirit. He gave expression to his feelings as soon as he was released from jail, but compromise was a fait-acompli. In fact, preparations were already going on for the convening of the Round Table Conference. On the other side, preparations were also going on for holding the Annual Session of the Congress at Karachi. Sardar Vallabhbhai was to become the President of this Session.

At that time, a serious thing was agitating the minds of all Indians. The Government had decided to send Sardar Bhagatsing and his comrades to the gallows. The British Imperialism was signing on the dotted line of the pact of compromise with one hand, while with the other hand it was tightening the noose around the patriots' throats. Subhash Babu and other leftist elements were enraged. Gandhiji's grief also was boundless. He gave an undertaking to the country that he would leave no stone unturned in trying to save Bhagatsing from the gallows. But he had reckoned without the Government which on its part fixed the day on which the Karachi Session of the Congress was to begin as the day of execution of the patriots. They spurned away Gandhiji's request, and consequently the whole country became restless.

Yet Gandhiji did not want to throw the compromise-agreement overboard only on this account, simply because of the fact that this point was not included in the agreement. The Gandhi-Irwin pact was yet to be ratified by the Congress and this ratification was to be sought at its Karachi Session. Subhash was in the opposition and he was

openly criticising Gandhiji's political wisdom as well as the various steps taken by him. Gandhiji tried for days to persuade and convince him, but the desired unity could not be established.

Gandhiji went to the Round Table Confernce, but returned from there empty-handed. At that time, the position in the country had changed. The Government had made all preparations to put down any "uprising" and to start a wave of repression in the country. The people had till then scrupulously abided by all the provisions of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact while the Government was behaving as if the pact did not exist at all. In the beginning of 1932, Subhash, when he was about to start for Bombay with a view to meet Gandhiji was arrested.

This latest incarceration proved his undoing. Of course his morale and his iron-will none could break, but his physique did break down under the rigours of the Jail life. His health began to deteriorate day by day and at last he accepted the suggestion made by the Government to go out of India to some Foreign Land. This time he could not even see his parents.

He could not move about as a free man even on that foreign soil. It was decided that he should stay at Vienna. The British Government were keeping a watchful eye over his activities. Subhash studied the changes occurring in the European political scene and formed certain fixed opinions about them. That unique Indian diplomat Shreejut Vithalbhai Patel was also in Vienna undergoing some treatment at that time. He and Subhash found in each other congenial company. In a short time they became fast friends. During the discussion on world-problems they

found that there was a good deal of agreement between their ideas.

When those two were in Vienna, the atmosphere in India was also changing. The 1932 struggle was breaking down. Government had announced its intention to enforce the Communal Award. Gandhiji had begun fast unto death on the question of the Harijans-the untouchables. After the desired alterations were made in the award Gandhiji concentrated his attention on the Harijan uplift work. He fasted for 21 days as a penance for personal purification and when the Government released him the Satyagraha was temporarily called off. Gandhiji even extended the period of suspension of Satyagraha and subsequently he changed its form and made it an individual instead of a mass-affair. All this news gave a shock to Subhash. He and Vithalbhai issued a statement from Vienna emphasising the fact that the experiment of non-co-operation and civil disobedience had failed and urging that new leaders be placed at the helm of the affairs of the country.

Soon after this, Vithalbhai Patel breathed his last in Vienna. Subhash was in constant attendance till the end. After Vithalbhai's death, he found it very difficult and distressing to stay on in Vienna and little by little he began to move about in France, Germany and Italy after obtaining permission from the Government. He even toured the Balkan countries. Subhash has given us a vivid pricture of his activities of those days with his own pen, though we find that the speeches he delivered after the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India contained a more lucid and more exhaustive account of his activities of those days. We shall read about those speeches in the subsequent parts of this book.

A piece of distressing and painful news reached Subhash during his ramblings in Europe. He heard that his father was seriously ill. Subhash cancelled all his programmes and started post-haste for India. His dear father breathed his last on the day on which he again set his foot on Indian soil. Even an exchange of a few words–nay, even a last glimpse of that dear old face was denied to him by Providence. The son who had gone to Jail in the beginning of 1932 could not manage to reach home in time to have a last "Darshana" of his father.

......And the Government added their on quota to his misery by their inclement attitude. Subhash expressed his desire to stay on in India. He said he wanted to stay with his family; he wanted to perform the last rites of his father. But the Bengal Government was not to be "taken in" like that. They issued an order for Subhash under the "Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act". The provisions of the order were as follows:–

1. To proceed at once to 38-2, Elgin Road and reside there till further oders-

2. Not to be absent from the precints of the said house and not to interview any visitor at any time.

3. Not to correspond, converse, or communicate or associate in any manner with anybody save the members of your family actually living at 38-2, Elgin Road.

4 To deliver unopened to the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Special Branch, Calcutta, or the officer spceially deputed by him for the purpose, all books or communications (whether such communications be in the nature of telegrams, letters, postal packages or otherwsie) received by you from any source whatever or intended

for to whomsoever address and whether the same be received by you or by some agent or servant on your behalf.

5. When so required by the Dy. Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, or by any Magistrate, to facilitate in every way access of such person for any lawful purposes to the premises in which you be living.

6. If you knowingly disobey any of the directions you will be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years and also liable to fine.

It sounds surprising but is nevertheless a fact that Subhash, distressed and distracted as he was by the death of a dear father agreed to abide by these provisions and stayed on with his family for some days. He again left the shores of India for some foreign land on 10th January 1934, because he was still ailing and in need of further treatment. A photograph taken during his stay in Vienna and published elsewhere in this book gives one an idea of the state of his health at that time.

Subhash was given comparatively more freedom during this second visit of his to the Continent. During that time he wrote a book named "Indian Struggle 1920-34." In that book he put down for the first time in black and white his ideas about politics-national as well as international. He also expressed his ideas about Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and others in clear-cut terms. After that, when he went to Rome, he was given a grand reception. Those were the days when Hitler had assumed power in Germany and the idea of racial superiority was being manifested everywhere. In one of his speeches, Hitler used insulting words for non-white races and Subhash instantaneously raised his voice of protest. Afterwards Hitlar

had to eat his words. He explained that his statement did not include the Indian and the Japanese people.

During the second sojourn in Europe Subhash got a chance to study its internal cross-currents at close quarters. He could clearly hear the rumblings of the coming war. He went to Ireland, saw De Valera and won him over as his lasting friend. He heard from De Valera's own lips the history of Ireland's emancipation and freedom from British yoke. This again stirred up Subhash's imagination and he made various schemes for the liberation of his own mother-land.

In India, the disappointment created by the failure of the 1932 struggle had begun to disappear. Preparations were afoot to hold the annual session of the Congress at Lucknow under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal was out-spoken in his advocacy of socialism. The India Act of 1935 was imposed upon the people and the question as to what attitude should be adopted towards that Act was seriously agitating the minds of our leaders. Jawaharlal had expressed publicly the desire of the whole nation that Subhash should return to India and take his due share in the activities of the Congress. Subhash was at Vienna at that time and an official invitation also was sent to him on behalf of the Congress. But the Government did not wish that Subhash should return to India on any account. The British ambassador-Resident in Vienna sent an order issued by his Government which inter-alia said that if Subhash tried to reach India, he would be arrested as soon as he landed on

its shores. Subhash decided after a good deal of heart-searching that it is better to remain in prison in one's own land than to wander like that in foreign strends. He decided to come to India and took steps to make his decision known. He landed in Bombay on 11th April 1936, and the Government lost no time in arresting him. He was clapped up behind prison bars under the Regulation of 1818. At that time, Subhash gave the following message to the Nation: "Keep the flag of National Freedom flying."

That time also the Government indirectly hinted and alleged that Subhash was helping the revolutionaries. For many years afterwards, the Government entertained this belief but they never took the trouble of proving it in an open Court of Law.

When Government released him in the month of March 1937 the new Constitution had already come into force. The Country was agog with the talk of the coming elections. Provincial Government were coming into being. Subhash took up the old threads where he had left them, as soon as he was released. During the last months of 1937 he again left India, though this time he went abroad as a free man. He roamed about in Europe and saw personally the ammunition being made ready for the world Conflagration that had become a certainty.

India by then, had become impatient to show its sense of appreciation and respect for the man with such a glorious tradition of his sacrifice behind him. The Haripura Session of the Congress was about to assemble in Gujarat. The name of Subhash was suggested as one of the candidates for its presidentship and it was accepted by one and

all. Subhash returned to India. He was given a Royal Reception. He adorned the seat of the President of the Congress and became fountain-head of inspiration for millions of his country men. The country began to revibrate with the cry of " Subhash Babuki jai. "

VIII

A DISTRESSING EPISODE

Now we have to review a distressing episode in the life of Subhash Babu. The first year of Subhash Babu's presidentship passed off very happily. He was given grand receptions wherever he went. His colleagues of the Congress Working Committee were working in union with him. But when the question of the next year's presidentship cropped up, it created a very great conflict. The Congress was ruling over seven provinces of India under the new constitution, and that had lent a new colour to the politics of the land. Many new questions had cropped up and there was a real danger of the federal part of the new constitution being imposed upon India. Subhash rightly or wrongly believed that other Congress leaders would accept it without much opposition. Goaded by some such belief he again announced his candidature for the presidentship. Other candidates were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya. Maulana Saheb withdrew his candidature in favour of Dr. Pattabhi and incensed by this, Subhash decided that, come what may he would contest the elections.

Many unfortunate statements and counter-statements on this affair have seen the light of the day. Subhash succeeded in the elections, but soon after Gandhiji publicly stated, that the defeat of Dr. Pattabhi was as good as his own defeat, because it was he who had prevented Dr. Pattabhi from withdrawing from the contest. Moreover, Gandhiji believed that a victory for Subhash meant a defeat of his ideals and ideology.

These statements of Gandhiji had an immediate effect. The Congress Delegates as if realising their mistakes began to reiterate everywhere their confidence in Gandhiji's leadership and his programme through the medium of public meetings and personal statements. This perturbed Subhash a little, but he did not give in. He issued a public statement emphasising his own sense of respect and adoration for Gandhiji. He even announced that he would not deviate from the chosen path of the Congress. Yet the internal currents of the time were such that the leaders found it difficult to have mutual confidence among themselves.

Subhash saw Gandhiji. There were protracted negotiations, but they resulted in nothing. Subhash and his colleagues thought that Gandhiji believed his position to be in danger and that was why he had taken that particular line of action. This increased the intensity of the conflict and at last a time came when the twelve members of the Congress Working Committee acting on Gandhiji's advice resigned from Subhash Babu's cabinet.

The Tripuri Session of the Congress was in the offing when the Congress working Committee (and along with it the Congress Parliamentary Board) resignsd. It was openly said that a motion of no-confidence against Subhash will be brought up during the Session. Subhash fell ill at the crucial time. Doctors advised him to take complete rest, but Subhash had decided once and for all to attend the Session. Many things-public and private-happened at Tripuri. It is no use recording all that here. At last the Premier of U. P., Shreejut Govind Ballabh Pant presented the following resolution for the consideration by the A. I. C. C. and the open Session:-

"This Committee declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the Congress programme in the future. The Committee expresses its confidence in the work of the working Committee which functioned during the last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members. In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the Country to victory during such a crisis, The Committee regards it imperative that the executive authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji".

The A. I. C. C. and the open session held on the 10th March passed the above resolution with the over-whelming majority.

If we consider the implications of the above resolution Subhash should have resigned after its adoption by the open Session. But he did nothing of the sort. Instead he agreed to act according to Gandhiji's instructions. This resulted in a protracted correspondence between him and Gandhiji.

Subhash and Gandhiji both accepted that there were two distinct divisions in the Congress. Subhash wanted both these divisions to unite in the interest of the nation while

Gandhiji said that, that was not possible, because the opposition was not based on personal animosities but on ideological differences. He believed that the interests of the congress demanded that only one of the two divisions be placed at the helm of the affairs.

There has been copious correspondence on this affair. We cannot afford to reproduce it here in full. Out of 34 telegrams and 13 letters exchanged between Subhash Babu and Gandhiji, only the more important and essential part is recorded below:-

SUBHASH'S TELEGRAM

Jealgora, 24th March, 1939. Mahatma Gandhi--Birla House, New Delhi.

In view of your suggestion to Sarat regarding Congress work and the impossibility of my meeting you in the immediate future, I consider it necessary to start consultations with you through post. I am writing —Subhas.

SUBHASH'S LETTER

Jealgora, 25th March, 1939.

My dear Mahatmaji,

I hope you have seen the statement I issued to-day (Saturday the 15th instant) in reply to those who were blaming me for causing a stalemate in the affairs of the Congress. The immediate and urgent problem before us is the formation of the new Working Committee.

× × ×

With regard to this problem, I shall be grateful if you kindly let me know your opinion on the following points :-

What is your present conception of the composition of the Working Committee? Must it be a homogeneous

body or should it be drawn from different parties or groups within the Congress so that the Committee, as a whole may represent as far as possible the composition of the general body of the Congress ?

× × ×

I must mention here that I have always combated the idea that the Working Committee should be homogeneous in character.

× × ×

What exactly is the position of the President after Pandit Pant's resolution was passed.

× × ×

In this connection I must state that the above clause in Pandit Pant's resolution is clearly unconstitutional and ultra vires. In fact, Pandit Pant's resolution itself was out of order having been received too late. I would have been within my rights in ruling out of order the entire resolution.

.....Further, from the purely constitutional point of view even after admitting Pandit Pant's resolution, I should have ruled out of order the last clause pertaining to the formation of the Working Committee since it militated against Article XV of the Constitution. But I am temperamentally too democratic to attach much importance to technical or constitutional points. Further, I felt that it would be unmanly to take shelter behind the Constitution at a time when I felt that there was the possibility of an adverse vote.

Before I close this letter I shall refer to one other point. If I am to continue as President, despite all the obstacles, handicaps and difficulties—how would you like me to function ? Remember that during the last twelve months you occasionally (perhaps often) advised me to the effect

that you did not want me to be a dummy President and that you would like to see me asserting myself. At Wardha on the 15th February when I found that you did not agree with my programme, I told you that there were two alternatives before me—either to efface myself or to stand up for my honest convictions. If I remember right, you told me in reply that unless I voluntarily accepted your viewpoint, self-effacement would in reality amount to self-suppression and that you could not approve of self-suppression. If I am to continue as President, would you still advise me not to function as a dummy President as you advised me last year ?

With Pranams,

Yours affectionately,
Subhash.

ANOTHER LETTER

My dear Mahatmaji,

There are of course certain things in his (Sarat Babu's) letter which echo my feelings. But that is a different matter. The main problem appears to me as to whether both parties can forget the past and work together. That depends entirely on you. If you can command the confidence of both parties by taking up a truly non-partisan attitude then you can save the Congress and restore national unity.

I am temperamentally not a vindictive person and I do not nurse grievances. In a wav I have the mentality of a boxer—that is, to shake hands smilingly when the boxing-bout is over and take the result in a sporting spirit.

Secondly, in spite of all the representations that I have been receiving, I take the Pant resolution as it has been passed by the Congress. We must give effect to it. I my-

self allowed the resolution to be moved and discussed, despite the ultra vires clause in it. How can I go back on it?

Thirdly, there are two alternatives before you (1) either to accommodate our views with regard to the composition of the new Working Committee or (2) to insist on your views in their entirety. In the case of the latter we may come to the parting of the ways.

Fourthly, I am prepared to do all that is humanly possible for me to expedite the formation of the new Working Committee and the summoning of the Working Committee and A.-I. C. C. But I am so sorry that it is not possible for me to come to Delhi now. (Dr. Sunil has wirec to you this morning on this point. I got your telegran only yesterday.)

Fifthly, I was surprised to learn from your letter tha the A.-I. C. C. office had not sent you a copy of Pant' resolution. (This has since been done.) I was still mor surprised that the resolution had not been brought to you notice till you came to Allahabad. At Tripuri, the air wa thick with the rumour that the resolution had your fulles support. A statement to that effect also appeared in th daily Press while we were at Tripuri.

Sixthly, I have not the slightest desire to stick t office. But I do not see reason for resigning because I ar ill. No President resigned when he was in prison. For in stance I may tell you that great pressure is being brough to bear on me to resign. I am resisting because my resig nation will mean a new phase in Congress politics which want to avoid till the last.

With Pranams,
Yours affectionately,
Subhash.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY

New Delhi, 30-3-39.

My dear Subhash,

I have delayed my reply to your letter of 26th instant for the sake of having your reply to my wire. I got Sunil's wire last night. I have now got up before morning prayer time to write this reply.

Since you think that Pt. Pant's resolution was out of order and the clause to the Working Committee is clearly unconstitutional and ultra vires your course is absolutely clear. Your choice of the Committee should be unfettered. Your several questions on this head therefore do not need any answering.

Since we met in February my opinion has become strengthened that where there are differences on fundamentals, as we agreed there were, a composite Committee would be harmful. Assuming therefore that your policy has the backing of the majority of the A. I. C. C. you should have a Working Committee composed purely of those who believe in your policy.

Yes, I adhere to the view expressed by me at Segaon at our February meeting that I would not be guilty of being party to any self-suppression by you, as distinguished from voluntary self-effacement. Any subordination of a view which you may strongly hold as in the best interest of the country would be self-suppression. Therefore if you are to function as President your hands must be unfettered. The situation before the country admits of no middle course.

So far as the Gandhites (to use that wrong expression) are concerned they will not obstruct you. They will help you where they can, they will abstain where they cannot.

There should be no difficulty whatsoever if they are in a minority. They may not suppress themselves if they are clearly in a majority.

What worries me however is the fact that the Congress electorate is bogus and that therefore majority and minority lose their full meaning. Nevertheless till the Congress stable is cleansed we have to manage with the instrument we have for the time being. The other thing worrying me is the terrible distrust among ourselves. Joint work is an impossibility when the workers distrust one another.

I think there is no other point in your letter that needs answering.

In all you do, may you be guided by God. Do be well quickly by obeying the doctors.

Love. Bapu.

MR. BOSE'S LETTER

Jealgora, March 31, 1939.

My Dear Mahatmaji,

...I shall be grateful if you could let me know your reaction to Pant's resolution. You are in this advantageous position that you can take a dispassionate view of things—provided, of course, you get to know the whole story of Tripuri. Judging from the papers most of the people who have seen you so far seem to belong to one school–namely, those who supported Pant's resolution. But that does not matter. You can easily assess things at their proper value, regardless of the persons who visit you.

You can easily imagine my own view of Pant's resolution. But my personal feelings do not matter so much. In public life we have often to subordinate personal feelings

to public considerations. As I have said in a previous letter, whatever one may think of Pant's resolution from the purely constitutional point of view, since it has been passed by the Congress, I feel bound by it. Now do you regard that resolution as one of no-confidence in me and do you feel that I should resign in consequence thereof ? Your view in this matter will influence me considerably.

× × ×

There is one other matter to which I shall refer in this letter—that is the question of our programme....For months I have been telling friends that there would be a crisis in Europe in spring which would continue till summer. The international situation as well as our own position at home convinced me nearly 8 months ago that the time had come for us to force the issue of Purna Swaraj....For these and other reasons we should lose no time in placing our National Demand before the British Government in the form of an ultimatum,...If you do so and prepare for the coming struggle simultaneously I am sure that we shall be able to win Purna Swaraj very soon. The British Government will either respond to our demand without a fight—or, if the struggle does take place in our persent circumstances it cannot be a long-drawn one. I am so confident and so optimistic on this point that I feel that if we take courage in both hands and go ahead we shall have Swaraj inside of 18 months at the most.

I feel so strongly on this point that I am prepared to make any sacrifice in this connection. If you take up the struggle, I shall most gladly help you to the best of my ability. If you feel that the Congress will be able to fight better with another President I shall gladly step aside. If

you feel that the Congress will be able to fight more effectively with a Working Committee of your choice, I shall gladly fall in line with your wishes. All that I want is that you and the Congress should in this critical hour stand up and resume the struggle for Swaraj. If self-effacement will further the national cause, I assure you most solemnly that I am perpared to efface myself completely. I think I love my country sufficiently to be able to do this.

Pardon me for saying that the way you have been recently conducting the States people's struggle does not appeal to me.

× × ×

I may say that many people like myself cannot enthuse over the terms of the Rajkot settlement. We, as well as the Nationalist Press have called it a great victory—but how much have we gained ? Sir Maurice Gwyer is neither our man nor is he an independent agent. He is a Government man. What point is there in making him the umpire? We are hoping that his verdict will be in our favour. But supposing he declares against us, what will be our position?

My letter has become too long, so I must stop here. If I have said anything which appears to you to be erroneous, I hope you will pardon me. I know you always like people to speak frankly and openly. That is what has emboldened me in writing this frank and long letter.

With respectful Pranams, Yours affectionately, Subhash.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY

Birla House,
New Delhi, 2-4-1939.

My dear Subhash,

I have yours of 31st March as also the previous one. You

are quite frank and I like your letters for the clear enunciation of your views.

The views you express seem to me to be so diametrically opposed to those of the others and my own that I do not see any possibility of bridging them. I think that each school of thought should be able to put forth its views before the country without any mixture. And if this is honestly done, I do not see why there should be any bitterness ending in civil war.

What is wrong is not the differences between us but loss of mutual respect and trust. This will be remedied by time which is the best healer. If there is real non-violence in us, there can be no civil war much less bitterness.

Taking all things into consideration, I am of opinion that you should at once form your own Cabinet fully representing your views. Formulate your programme definitely and put it before the forthcoming A.-I.C.C. If the Committee accepts the programme all will be plain-sailing and you should be enabled to prosecute it unhampered by the minority. If on the other hand your programme is not accepted you should resign and let the Committee choose its President. And you will be free to educate the country along your own lines. I tender this advice irrespective of Pandit Pant's Resolution.

My prestige does not count. It has an independent value of its own. When my motive is suspected or my policy or programme rejected by the country, the prestige must go. India will rise and fall by the quality of the sum total of her many millions. Individuals, however high they may be, are of no account except in so far as they repre-

sent the many millions. Therefore let us rule it out of consideration.

I wholly dissent from your view that the country has been never so non- violent as now. I smell violence in the air I breathe. But the violence has put on a subtle form. Our mutual distrust is a bad form of violence. The widening gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans points to the same thing. I can give further illustrations.

We seem to differ as to the amount of corruption in the Congress. My impression is that it is on the increase. I have been pleading for the past many months for a thorough scrutiny.

In these circumstances I see no atmosphere of non-violent mass action. An ultimatum without effective sanction is worse than useless.

But as I have told you I am an old man perhaps growing timid and over-cautious and you have youth before you and reckless optimism born of youth. I hope you are right. I am wrong. I have the firm belief that the Congress as it is to-day cannot deliver the goods, cannot offer civil disobedience worth the name. Therefore if your prognosis is right, I am a backnumber and played out as the generalissimo of Satyagraha.

I am glad you have mentioned the little Rajkot affair. It brings into prominent relief the different angles from which we look at things. I have nothing to repent of in the steps I have taken in connection with it. I feel that it has great national importance. I have not stopped civil disobedience in the other States for the sake of Rajkot. But Rajkot opened my eyes. It showed me the way. I am not in Delhi for my health. I am reluctantly in Delhi awaiting the Chief Justice's

decision. I hold it to be my duty to be in Delhi till the steps to be taken in due fulfilment of the Viceroy's declaration in his last wire to me are finally taken. I may not run any risk. If I invited the Paramount Power to do its duty, I was bound to be in Delhi to see that the duty was fully performed. I saw nothing wrong in the Chief Justice being appointed the interpreter of the document whose meaning was put in doubt by the Thakor Sahib. By the way, Sir Maurice will examine the document not in his capacity as Chief Justice but as a trained jurist trusted by the Viceroy. By accepting the Viceroy's nominee as Judge, I fancy I have shown both wisdom and grace and what is more important I have increased the Viceregal responsibility in the matter.

Though we have discussed sharp diffierences of opinion between us, I am quite sure that our private relations will not suffer in the least. If they are from the heart, as I believe they are, they will bear the strain of these differences. Love-Bapu.

MAHATMAJI'S TELEGRAM

New Delhi, 2nd April 1939.

Gandhiji's telegram to Rashtrapati Subhash Chandra Bose, Jealgora :—

Posted full reply to your letters. My advice there in is irrespective of Pandit Pant's Resolution and in view of diametrically opposite views held by two schools of thought, you should forthwith form your own Cabinet fully representing your policy. You should frame and publish your policy and programme and submit the same to A. I. C. C. If you secure majority you should be enabled to carry out

policy unhampered. If you do not secure majority, you should resign and invite A. I. C. C. to elect new President. Given honesty and good will, I do not fear civil war. Love-Bapu.

MR. BOSE'S LETTER

Jealgora-6th April, 1939.

My dear Mahatmaji,

...I have been pondering deeply over the advice you have given me regarding the formation of the Working Committee. I feel that yonr advice is the counsel of despair. It destroys all hope of unity. It will not save the Congress from a split--on the contrary it will make the path safe for such a contingeney. To advise a homogeneous Cabinet in the present circumstances will mean advising the parties to part company now. Is that not a terrible responsibility? Do you feel quite sure that joint work is impossible? On our side we do not think so. We are prepared to do our best to "forgive and forget" and join hands for the sake of common cause and we can look up to you to bring about an honourable compromise. I have already written and spoken to you that the composition of the Congress being what it is-and there being no possibility in the immediate future of any remarkable change, the best course would be to have a composite Cabinet in which all the groups would be represented as far as possible.

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You have referred in your letters to the two parties being so "diametrically opposed." You have not amplified the point and it is not clear if the opposition you refer to is based on programme or on personal relations. Personal relations are in my view, a passing phenomenon. We may

quarrel and fight, but we can shake hands and make up our differences. Take for instance, Swarajist episode in recent Congress history. As far as I am aware, after a period of opposition the relations between Deshbandhu and Pandit Motilalji with yourself became as sweet as humanly possible. In Great Britain, the three major parties can always join hands and work on the same Cabinet when an emergency arises. In continental countries like France, every Cabinet is normally a composite Cabinet. Are we less patriotic than Britishers and Frenchmen? If we are not, then why cannot we have composite Cabinets functioning effectively?

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You have said in one of your letters in connection with my idea of an ultimatum on the issue of Swaraj that there is no atmosphere for non-violent mass action. But did you not have non-violent mass action in Rajkot? Are you not having it in some other States also? These States' people are comparatively untrained in the practice of Satyagraha. We in British India can claim more experience and training-comparatively speaking at least. If the States' people can be permitted to resort to Satyagraha in their struggle for civil liberty and responsible government, why not we in British India?

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I shall now come to Pandit Pant's Resolution. The important part of it (last portion, I mean) contains two points. Fristly, the Working Committee must command your confidence—implicit confidence. Secondly, it must be formed in accordance with your wishes. If you advise a homogeneous Cabinet and such a Cabinet is formed, one

could perhaps say that it has been formed " in accordance with your wishes. " But could it be claimed that it commands your confidence ? There is another question in this connection which I have been asking you. Do you regard this resolution as one of no confidence in me ? If so, I shall resign at once and that too unconditionally. Some papers have criticised this question of mine in my press statement on the ground that I should decide for myself what the significance of the resolution is.

...I have sense enough to give my own interpretation, but there are occasions when personal interpretations should not be one's sole guide.

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I must explain further why I say that I shall resign automatically if you tell that Pant's Resolution signifies no-confidence. You know very well that I do not follow you blindly in all that you say or believe as so many of my countrymen do. Why then should I resign if you opine that the resolution signifies no-confidence ? The reason is plain and simple. I feel it as galling to my conscience to hold on to office, if the greatest personality in India today feels—though he may not say so openly—that the passing of the resolution should automatically have brought in my resignation. This attitude is perhaps dictated more by personal regard for you and your opinion in this matter.

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But I am digressing. I wanted to appeal to you to come forward and directly and openly conduct the affairs of the Congress. This will simplify matters. Much of the opposition against the Old Guard–and opposition there certainly is–will automatically vanish.

If you cannot do this, then I have an alternative suggestion to make. Please resume the national struggle for independence as we have been demanding and begin by delivering the ultimatum to the British Government. In that event we shall all gladly retire from our official positions. If you so desire, we shall gladly hand over these positions to whomsoever you like or trust. But only on one condition, the fight for independence must be resumed. People like myself feel that to-day we have an opportunity which is rare in the life time of a nation. For that reason we are prepared to make any sacrifice that will help the resumption of the fight.

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Before I close this letter I shall refer to one or two personal things. You have remarked in one letter that you hope that whatever happens, "our private relations will not suffer." I cherish this hope with all my heart. May I say in this connection that if there is anything in life on which I pride myself, it is this that I am the son of a gentleman and as such am a gentleman. Deshbandhu Das often used to tell us, "Life is larger than Politics." That lesson I have learnt from him. I shall not remain in the political field one single day if by doing so I shall fall from the standards of gentlemanliness which are so deeply ingrained in my mind from infancy and which I feel are in my very blood.

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Once again I have digressed. In a letter you expressed the hope that in whatever I did, I would "be guided by God." Believe me Mahatmaji, all these days I have been praying for only one thing—viz for light as to the path

that would be best for my country and my country's freedom. I have asked for strength and inspiration to completely efface myself—should the need and occasion arise. It is my firm conviction that a nation can live only if the individuals composing it be ready to die for its sake whenever it is necessary. This moral (or spiritual) "harakiri" is not an easy thing. But may God grant me the strength to fate it whenever the country's interests demand it.

With respectful Pranams

Yours affectionately,
Subhash.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY

Rajkot. April 10.

My Dear Subhash,

Your letter of 6th instant has been redirected here. I suggested a meeting of the fces to have it out among themselves without any reservation. But so much happened since that I do not know if it is worth while. They will only swear at one another and bitterness will become more bitter. The gulf is too wide, suspicions too deep. I see no way of closing the ranks. The only way seems to me to recognise the differences and each group work in its own manner.

I feel myself utterly incompetent to bring the warring elements together for joint work. I should hope that they can work out their policies with becoming dignity. If they do so, it will be well with the country.

Pandit Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. The more I study it, the more I dislike it. The framers meant well. But it does not answer the present difficulty. You should

therefore give it your own interpretation and act accordingly without the slightest hesitation.

I cannot and will not impose a Cabinet on you. You must not have one imposed on you, nor can I guarantee approval by A. I. C. C. of your Cabinet and policy. It would amount to suppression. Let the members exercise their own judgment. If you do not get the vote, lead the opposition till you have converted the majority.

Do you not know that I have stopped C D. wherever I have influence ? Travancore and Jaipur are glaring examples. Even Rajkot I had stopped before I came here. I repeat that I breathe violence in the air. I see no atmosphere for non--violent action. Is not the lesson of Rampur for you ? In my opinion it has done immense injury to the cause. It was so far as I can see pre-meditated, Congressmen are responsible for it, as they were in Rampur of Orissa. Do you not see that we two honestly see that same thing differently and even draw opposite conclusions ? How can we meet on the political platform ? Let us agree to differ there and let us meet on the social, moral and municipal platforms. I cannot add the economic for we have discovered our differences on that platform also.

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My conviction is that working along our lines in our own way we shall serve the country better than by the different groups seeking to work a common policy and common programme forced out of irreconcilable elements.

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I forget one thing. Nobody put me up against you. What I told you in Segaon was based on my own personal observations. You are wrong if you think that you have a single personal enemy among the Old Guard. Love-Bapu.

IX

FAST UNTO DEATH

The protracted correspondence resulted in nothing. Subhash wanted unity. His idea was to make the Congress strike a unified blow at the British Empire with the least possible delay. Not even his enemies can say that he was enamoured of presidential power. The main difference of opinion with Gandhiji was regarding the readiness of the people for a fight. Gandhiji believed that the country was not ready while Subhash believed otherwise. He was straining at the leash to give an ultimatum to the British and if that ultimatum did not bear fruit, start a last fight for the country's freedom.

The condition in India at that time was such—and today also it does not seem to have materially changed—that a campaign of civil disobedience could only be started if Gandhiji accepted to take its leadership. People would be ready to sacrifice anything and everything on his name. Subhash at that time did not command enough confidence and prestige to start a fight on his own responsibility. Subhash Babu knew this and that was why he sought Gandhiji's co-operation. But he and Gandhiji could not see eye-to-eye with each other. The A. I. C. C. met at Calcutta on the 28th and Subhash resigned his post of the President in the midst of a very tense atmosphere.

The subsequent period saw the gulf between him and the Congress increased. Subhash then founded his "Forward Block" and tried to put into practice

through its medium his own ideas and his own plans. As time went on the Congress thought that his activities constituted a breach of discipline. Inspite of all this, Suhbash's longing for independence remained unabated. It became more intense with the passage of time. Then came the agitation for the removal of Hallwell Monument from Calcutta. Government arrested Subhash under the pretext of an article published in the organ of the "Forward Block" and again sent him to prison.

Subhash thought that the Government were treating him badly and totally unjustly, So after a time, i. e. in November 1940, he decided to go on a fast unto death. He made his decision known to the Bengal Governor, the premier and other ministers in the course of a historic letter. The following are important extracts from that letter.

"...I have no longer any hope that I shall obtain redress at your hands. I shall, therefore, make but two requests, the second of which will be at the end of this letter. My first request is that this letter be carefully preserved in the archives of the Government, so that it may be available to those of my countrymen who will succeed you in office in future. It contains a message for my countrymen and is therefore, my political testament.

I was arrested without any official explanation or justification on the 2nd July, 1940, as per orders of the Government of Bengal, under Section 129 of the D. I. Rules. The first explanation subsequently emanating from the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, who stated in the House of Commons quite categorically that the arrest was in connection with the movement for the demolition of Hallwell Monument in Calcutta.

......For more than two months the question has been knocking at the door of my conscience over and over again as to what I should do in such a predicament.

Should I submit to the pressure of circumstances and accept whatever comes my way—or should I protest against what to me is unfair, unjust and illegal? After the most mature deliberation I have come to the conclusion that surrender to circumstances is out of the question. It is more heineousa crime to submit to a wrong inflicted than to perpetrate that wrong. So, protest I must.

But all these days, protest has been going on and the ordinary methods of protest have all been exhausted Agitation in the press and on the platform, representation to Government, demands in the Assembly, exploration of legal channels–have not all of these been already tried and found ineffective? Only one method remains–the last weapon in the hands of a prisoner–i. e., hungerstrike or fast.

" In the cold light of logic I have examined the pros and cons of this step and have carefully weighed the loss and gain that will accrue from it. I have no illusion in the matter and I am fully conscious that the immediate tangible gain will be nil, for I am sufficiently conversant with the behaviour of Governments and bureaucracies during such crisis. The classic and immortal examples of Terence Mac Swiney and Jatin Das are floating before my mind's eye at the moment. A system has no heart that could be moved, though it has a false sense of prestige to which it always clings.

Life under existing conditions is intolerable for me. To purchase one's continued existence by compromising with illegality and injustice goes against my very grain. I would throw up life itself rather than pay this price. Governments

are determined to hold me in prison by brute force. I say in reply, "Release me or I shall refuse to live—" and it is for me to decide whether I choose to live or die.

Though there may be no immediate, tangible gain, no sacrifice is ever futile. It is through suffering that in every age and clime the eternal law prevails that "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the Church."

In the mortal world everything perishes and will perish but ideas, ideals and dreams do not. One individual may die for an idea—but that idea will, after his death, incarnate itself in a thousand lives. That is how the wheels of evolution move on and the ideas, the dreams of one generation are bequeathed to the next. No idea has ever fulfilled itself in this world except through an ordeal of suffering and sacrifice.

What greater solace can there be than the feeling that one has lived and died for a principle? What higher satisfaction can a man possess than the knowledge that his spirit will beget kindred spirits to carry on his unfinished task? What better reward can a soul desire than the certainty that his message will be wafted over hills and dales and over the broad plains to every corner of his land and across the seas to distant lands? What higher consummation can life attain than peaceful self-immolation at the altar of one's cause?

Hence it is evident that nobody can lose through suffering and sacrifice. If he does lose anything of the earth he will gain much more in turn by becoming the heir to a life immortal.

This is the technique of the soul. The individual must die, so that the nation may live. To day I must die so that India may live and may win freedom and glory.

To my countrymen I say—" Forget not that the greatest curse of a man is to remain a slave. Forget not that the grossest crime is to compromise with injustice and wrong. Remember the eternal law—you must give, if you want to get it. And remember that the highest virtue is to battle against inequality, no matter what the cost may be."

To the Govt. of the day I say—"Cry halt to your mad drive along the path of communalism and injustice. There is yet time to retrace your steps. Do not use a boomerang which will soon recoil on you. And do not make another Sind of Bengal.

I have finished. My second and last request to you is that you should not interfere forcibly with my fast but should permit me to approach my end peacefully. In the case of Terence MacSwiney, of Jatin Das, of Mahatma Gandhi and in our own case in 1926—Government did decide not to interfere with the fast. I hope they will do the same this time—otherwise any attempt to feed me by force will be resisted with all my strength—though the consequences thereof may be even more drastic and disastrous than otherwise. I shall commence my fast on 29th November, 1940.

This letter of Subhash perturbed the government considerably. They lost their equipoise. They were not in a position to cope up with the gravity of the situation. Yet they feigned indifference for a time. But when the fast was begun in right earnest, Government found it too hot to hold on......and they set Subhash at liberty.

The working of Subhash Babu's mind at that juncture will be made more clear by the use of copious extracts from his own utterances, in the subsequent parts of this book.

X

ADIEU! MY MOTHERLAND

With his release from prison, Subhash finished one phase of his life and began another, which subsequently tunred out to be full of romance and glory. This second phase is mainly responsible for elevating Subhash to the position of esteem with which he is held by all his 40 crores of countrymen. Yet a study of Subhash Babu's character cannot be complete without a study of the period during which his ideas were moulded and that we have done in the course of the preceding chapters.

Subhash did not plunge into any activity immediately after his release. He indulged in a long range verbal duel with Maulana Azad, but that was all. He did not take any part in politics. After a lapse of some days, he, on the contrary, chose to observe complete silence and stay in complete solitude without allowing anybody to see him. He began to spend much of his time in meditation and contemplation. His friends, relatives and colleagues were a little surprised to see this sudden change in Subhash Babu's psychology, though all of them knew that Subhash always used to be attracted by things spiritual. Subhash, inspite of his being a great revolutionary always implicitly believed in the existence and omnipotence of God. The religious traditions which he imbibed from his mother could at no time be completely overshadowed. Everybody believed that Subhash was renouncing politics and leaning towards religion. Many former revolutionaries of Bengal

had chosen such a path. Shree Arobindo Ghose was the leader of this cult.

But one day the news contained in a Government Communique startled the whole world. Subhash was missing from the room in which he had confined himself!! According to the details published, he never used to allow anybody into his room till the last day. He never used to see anybody. Even the members of his family could not contact him.

The news of his disappearance was published on the day on which India was celebrating its "Independence Day" i.e. on the 26th of January.

Some believed that Subhash had left his home on that memorable day only but the details subsequently published proved that Subhash had left his home many days previously. It means that the news of his disappearance was published only after he had safely reached a particular place.

The publication of that news let loose a flood of speculations as to the possible whereabouts of Subhash Babu. Countless messages of condolence poured into the Bose household. It was a time when the war in Europe was being waged with the utmost vigour, and the news of Subhash's disappearance received wide publicity at the hands of both the "enemy" and the "friendly" radio stations.

Most of the speculators about Subhash's whereabouts believed at first that he had started off for the Himalayas to take up the threads of his "Sanyas" where he had left them during his immature years. But little by little this belief began to be shaken. People then began to believe that he had left the country in a Japanese submarine and reached

Tokio. After many months, when he was heard broadcasting from the Berlin Radio, people were at first sceptical to believe that it was Subhash's own voice that was coming over to them over the air. But when the Government Agencies themselves announced that Subhash had joined hands with Axis powers, people became convinced that Subhash, by hook or by crook, had managed to reach the camp of the arch enemies of Britain. Suddenly on March 28th 1942, Reuters flashed the news that Subhash was killed during an air-crash near the coast of Japan. This news sent a wave of grief over the whole country, though soon afterwards the news was contradicted. Ultimately the Government and the people were convinced that Subhash was nowhere else but in Berlin.

Yet the mystery of the way in which he effected his escape and reached Berlin could not be unravelled for a pretty long time. Afterwards India practically knew nothing about his activities also. That smoke-screen has very recently been lifted though during the latter part of year 1945, people had already begun to speculate regarding the possible route Subhash might have taken to escape into another country. The first person to try a hand at unravelling this mystery was the Sikh Leader of the Punjab. Master Tarasing. It became known that one of the Punjab Ministers was connected with Subhash's escape from India. Thereafter, we began to receive information by bits and though these bits did not fit into each other to make a connected whole, one thing became apparent, and it was that Subhash had not left India by submarine or aeroplane, but he had left the country overland, crossing over to the other side over its western frontiers. In the beginning of January 1946

more details regarding this came to light. A correspondent of the "Hindustan Standard" of Calcutta made public the details he had received about Subhash Babu's mode of escape-details which were said to have been received from a person who directly helped Subhash in his adventure.

This is what that person appears to have said:—"Shreejut Subhash Chandra Bose left Calcutta by road on the 13th December 1940 and travelling by motor car all the way to the Burdwan station, boarded a second class compartment of the Punjab Mail that had just steamed into the station. Subhash had allowed his beard to grow. The hair of his head also was not cropped and it was falling in curling locks right on to his neck. By the time he reached Peshawar Subhash began to look like a Pathan. For six days he stayed in Peshawar and then he left for Kabul in company with a body-guard and guide. He roed in a tonga for five miles out of Peshawar. Thereafter he travelled the whole distance on foot only.

In Kabul, Subhash was caught in the net of the Afghan C. I. D., but he managed to escape from their hands by bribing one of its members. Subhash is said to have given him his fountain-pen and a ten-rupee note to let him go. Then Subhash contacted the Russian Government, but he was told by them the non-aggression pact between Russia and Germany was on the point of being liquidated and there was a possibility of reapproachment between the British Government and the Russian Government. It was not possible for the Russian Government to give shelter to Subhash. The Soviet Government did not want to displease the Britishers in any way.

When a German Agent came to know that Subhash

Babu was in search of a haven to anchor his boat, he put him in contact with Berlin. Thereafter, arrangements were made to send Subhash by air to Berlin via Russia."

After the publication of the above narrative very recently, i. e. in the beginning of March last, Lala Uttamchand threw important light on SubhashBabu's adventure, in a series of articles, which he wrote for the "Hindustan Times" of Delhi. Lala Uttamchand was a merchant in Kabul and according to his own sayings it was he who gave Subhash the necessary shelter and was responsible for making successful arrangements for his trip to Berlin. Lala Uttamchand's articles tally in major details with the news published beforehand. Lala Uttamchand had to suffer great hardships in going out of his way to help Subhash. For a simple merchant, Lala Uttamchand's courage was really remarkable. We shudder to think what would have happend if Lala Uttamchand had not helped Subhash. Then, would have the glorious dream of Azad Hind come true ?

But let us not wander in this realm of imagination. Let us tread the beaten track of factual analysis.

Lala Uttamchand's articles do not throw much light on the question as. to how and when Subhash escaped from Calcutta. He does not go beyond the details published by the " Hindustan Standard." We do not yet know whose help was responsible for sending Subhash safely out of Calcutta. We do not yet understand why Subhash thought of going out to Russia. He disguised himself as a Moulvi of Lucknow and went to Kabul under the assumed name of Ziauddin. This fact would perhaps lead one to believe that his prin-

cipal help-mate must have been some Muslim. The fact that Subhash wanted to go to Russia would lead us to the surmise that his help-mate must probably have been a communist. It is not yet clear why Subhash ever entertained the idea of going to Russia. He was competent enough to understand that inspite of the pact of non-aggression existing between Russia and Germany, the conflict of ideologies of the two nations had never ceased to exist......and if he did not want to go to Russia, why should he have gone to Peshawar and Kabul at all. All these things are still obscure and they will come to light only when another Lala Uttamchand, who must have helped Subhash in successfully negotiating the first hurdle that Calcutta was, comes forward.

Today we only know that one cold night, when every thing was covered with snow and life was being frozen to death by the drop in the temperature, Subhash entered Kabul in company with his help-mate. Staying there, he moved heaven and earth together to be able to go to Russia but was not successful. He had assumed the name of Ziauddin and was looking like a real Kabuli. The Kabul C. I. D. was after him. The C. I. D. had no notion as to who Ziauddin was, but for some reason or another they began to trouble him more and more. In these circumstances he sought Lala Uttamchand's help and Lala Uttamchand showed great courage in taking upon his shoulders the onerous responsibility. It was he who put Subhash in touch with Italian Ambassador. After undergoing unimaginable hardships Subhash ultimately reached Berlin via Russia.

Here a question naturally arises as to what would have happened if Subhash had been successful in going over

to Russia, as was his desire. According to Lala Uttamchand Subhash did want to go to Russia. He even showed his dislike towards some of the methods employed by Germany. The details of Subhash Babu's contemplated plan of action after he reached Russia, as revealed to us by Lala Uttamchand, are not attractive. It seems that in reply to Lala Uttamchand's question as to what he would do after reaching Russia, Subhash Babu said that he wanted to make propaganda and help his own country. We do not get even an inkling of the glorious conception of the Indian National Army anywhere in this. But we can see from his talks with Lala Uttamchand that he wanted to enlist the armed help of Russia in favour of India. Let us recapitulate the dialogue that seems to have passed between him and Lala Uttamchand on one occasion.

During one of the talks I asked Bose his main object in going to Moscow.

He said: "The Russians and the Germans have just concluded a non-aggression pact. Germany is at war with Britain. Russia is an enemy of Britain. This is the time to go to Moscow and do propaganda for Indian freedom".

"The Russians and the Germans are at peace just now." I said "but still there is little in common between their ideologies. Who can say that even now there is no preparation for a war between them under the cover of friendship ? And then, will the Russians allow you to carry on propaganda against the British?"

"It may be," Bose Babu replied, "that the friendship between Russia and Germany does not last long and they might go to war. But the political situation today is changing so fast that we do not know what may happen wi-

thin the next 24 hours. No one ever imagined that Russia and Germany could conclude a pact of friendship. But that is how things developed. Even if there is an under-current of hostility between Germany and Russia, the British too are no friends of Russia. I am sure the Russians will let me carry on propaganda against the British".

"But do you think India will get her freedom merely through propaganda ?" I asked.

"My own conviction is that the British will not quit India till they are thrown out by a bloody revolution", he said. "They have never freed any country peacefully. Look at Ireland. Remember the Irish are their own kith and kin. When after 700 years of struggle and suffering Ireland did win her freedom, the British even then kept a small part of the Irish earth for themselves. How can they give up India voluntarily ? It is true anti-British propaganda abroad will not win us freedom, but just now they are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and my propaganda will definitely do them considerable harm."

" But then, do you think India cannot have a revolution like the one which took place in Ireland ?" I asked.

" The conditions which the British have created in India make such a revolution impossible. It is very difficult to create conditions in India in which we can throw the British out. Again such a revolution cannot be brought about without the help of a foreign power. Even Russia owes her revolution to Germany and America won her independence with the help of France."

" Do you mean to say," I asked, "that you are going to Russia to try to obtain her help in the liberation of India ? "

" Yes, that is my real object " he confessed. " I want to persuade the Russians to help us. If I fail on this, I can always do anti-British propaganda. If I had stayed back in India, the Government would have kept me in prison for the duration of the war. And I am sure, all the big leaders of the country will also be put in prison. I preferred to escape and do whatever I can for the independence of my country, rather than rot in prison. "

" But what will you do if you are not allowed to go to Moscow straight from here ? " I asked.

" Firstly, I shall make an attempt on my way to get down in Moscow and stay on there. If I do not succeed I will arrange it through the Russian Embassies in Berlin and Rome. I hope it will be arranged there because there you can freely contact the legations. In any case I hope to get to Moscow soon."

I expressed my doubts whether the Axis would let him go to Moscow in a war like this, if they got hold of an Indian of his status. I said, they would much rather put him to their own use than let him go to the Russians.

" I too know they will not give me up easily to the Russians, " said Bose, " but I will do my best to go to Moscow. Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India. No other country will help us. That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but to Moscow. If India does not win her freedom during this war, she will not be able to get it for another fifty years unless, of course, a bloody revolution takes place sooner."

PART II

BACK-GROUND and CONFLICT.

Qaum ki bigri hui ha'lat bana sakte ho tum
Yani Hindostan ko khwabe ghaflat se jaga sakte ho tum

Navjawano ho tum hi to nakhudae mulk-o-qaum
Kishtiye ummid sahil par laga sakte ho tum

Himmat-o-mardangi men hai tumhe hasil qamal
Qatibe takdir ka likha mita sakte ho tum

Jazbae hubba-i-watan ki ag hai tum men nihan
Barq bankar khurmane agaz jala sakte ho tum

Shere nar, marde mujahid, ai jawanan-e-watan
Yeh zamin kya asman gardish mila sakte ho tum

Tum badal sakte ho yeh sara nizame kainat
Zulm-o-istidad ki hasti mita sakte ho tum

Yeh tumhare naghmaye qaif parwar kya kahun
Inse bijli ek nai duniya basa sakte ho tum

Navjawano dil men phir barq-o-sharar paida karo,
Kat saken jo qaum ki khatir woh sar paida karo

Jiske nazzare se dil-i-qatil bhi ho jae mom
Apni qurbani men tum aisa asar paida karo

Jiske haibat se laraz jae sitamgaron ke dil
Apni chashme kushumgi men woh nazar paida karo

Pae iskalal ko jinke jumbush a sake
Marde Maidan ke jo ho woh sher-e-nar paida karo

Ae jawanane watan, ae sarfaroshane watan,
Shan ho jisme watan ki, woh hunar paida karo

I

THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE INDIANS

Before we peep into the new world created by Subhash Babu in the Far East, we should first acquaint ourselves with a few details regarding that world. Japan had not plunged into the war when Subhash bid adieu to his motherland. The Far East world was still not aflame. The British Imperial Sun had not begun to set. Those were the days when the victorious German armies were over-running Europe battering down all opposition.

Japan declared war on 8th December 1941, though it had attacked Pearl Harbour on the previous day i. e. on the 7th. The whole world was startled. Then came series of Victories for the Japs. The Union Jacks and the stars and the stripes fluttering on the British-American fortresses of the Far East were brought down one by one, and in their place was unfurled the ensign of the Rising Sun. Nobody could understand the military weakness shown by Britain. Japan had attacked after full preparation and that was the secret of its rapid successes. For months, it even outdid Germany in the speed of its advance.

The story of that War in the Pacific is really enthralling, but this is not a place to describe it. We are here to review the new world created by Subhash, and we can refer to the war and its military aspects only in that context.

On the 15th February 1942, the so-called invincible fortress of Singapore slipped away from Britain's hand and fell like a ripe peach in to Japan's lap and there and then

the struggle for the emancipation of India in the Far East began. Indians were tired of the British Imperialism, though they were not enamoured of the Japanese also. Japan's intensions remained doubtful to the last, but circumstances took such dramatic turns that a new world came automatically into being.

By sifting the facts at our disposal, we see that the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia was to a certain extent spontaneous. It was as if the outward manifestation of the inner urge of every Indian. It cannot be denied that this movement got additional encouragement from the rapid defeat of the Anglo-American arms at the hands of the Japanese.

When the Japanese began their attack on the Britishers in Malaya, many of the 7,00,000 Indians in that land, were still undecided as to what attitude to adopt towards this new phenomenon. Of course, there were hurried attempts at quitting Malaya and going to some other land, which ultimately resulted in confusion and loss of morale, but the rule of the Britishers during the preceding years had left a very bad taste in the mouths of most Indians and that came to the surface after the Japanese attack. The Indians had not forgotten the massacre of the Indian workers who were settled on the plantations and who had struck work demanding an increase in their wages commensurate with the increase in the cost of living. They had not forgotten that newspapers owned by Indians had to get their news pre-censured while those owned by the Britishers were free from any such encumbrance. These and other discriminatory steps had made the hearts of the Indians quite bitter.

There was dissatisfaction in the Indian Army also.

The Officers were specially affected by it. The reason for that also was colour-prejudice and colour-bar. Even the common soldier believed that it was not proper to send him to the battle-front without adequate aerial protection and with only the barest minimum ammunition in his hands.

So where the Japanese defeated the Britishers in Malaya and subjugated them, the Indians then co-operated with them, though it did not mean that they had a soft corner for the Japanese or that they had full confidence in their protestations. The only reason for their co-operation with the Japanese was their resentment of Britain.

Singapore fell on the 15th of February 1942. On the 17th February, some Indian leaders were invited to see Major Fujiwara at the Japanese military head-quarters. Major Fujiwara began by saying that the power of Britain was dwindling and that a unique opportunity for achieving independence had presented itself to India. Japan was prepared to give all the help to the Indians. The Indians in Malaya were British subjects and so according to the laws of war were enemy-subjects. But Japan would not consider Indians of the conquered countries as such, because Japan knew that Indians had not become British subjects of their own volition. After saying this, Major Fujiwara suggested that an Indian Independence League be established with a view to organise all the Indians fighting for the liberation of the mother land. Major Fujiwara promised to give all the facilities required for the purpose. The Indians replied that they would think over the matter and let him know in a few days.

After a few days, the Indian leaders told Major Fujiwara that before coming to a final decision, they would

like to consult the Indian leaders of other Far Eastern countries. The civil and military leaders gathered together in Singapore on 9th and 10th March to discuss this matter. They also considered the particular position obtaining in the country at that time.

In the meantime, that old Indian revolutionary, Mr. Rash Behari Bose called a Conference of all the Indian leaders of greater East Asia at Tokio and a formal invitation to that effect was also sent to the Indian leaders of Singapore and Malaya. Before sending out this invitation Mr. Rash Behari Bose had consulted the Indian leaders from other parts of Asia-leaders, who had fore-gathered in Tokio to take part in the Conference.

The Indian leaders of Malaya did not accept the invitation, but they decided to send a "Goodwill Mission" to Tokio. They did not want to send on officially representative mission because they believed that the intensions of Japan were still not clear, and the official programme of the Tokio Conference was not made known to them. When the representatives of Malaya and Siam met on 9th and 10th march, Japanese correspondents interviewed them. During this interview a good deal of light, regarding the primary stage of the war between Japan and the western powers was thrown. Moreover, revelations were also made during the interview, which touched upon the question of the feeling prevalent in the Indian Army as well as the Indian people, resident in the Far East. Following is the account of the discussion that took place during that interview.

Interview given to representatives of the Japanese and Singapore Press conference of Indian delegates from Malaya Thailand and the Indian National Army.

Singapore 10th March 1942

The following papers were represented.

Domei News Agency	...	N. Yuanaga.
Daimai Tonichi	... ...	H. Hayashi.
,,	... ...	K. Iakota.
The Ashahi	... ...	H. Shikama.
,,	... ...	T. Kasuga.
Syonan Times	... ...	Chong Tah Ngit.
Azad India	... ...	Kirtthar singh.
Swatantra Bharatam	...	C. D. Nair.

Propaganda secticn of the Nipponese Army.

T. Aida.

J. Nakamura.

K. Tamahashi.

Col. yamamotto, Staff officer.

Major Fujiwara, Staff officer.

Lt. Col. Sugita, Staff Officer.

Lt. Kunizuka, Liasion Officer. attached to the Indian Army.

Lt. Yamaguchi.

Lt. Makamiya.

Mr. Otagoru.

Indian Representatives present.

Shri—N. Raghavan.

,, B. K. Das.

,, Sucha Singh.

,, K. A. N. Iyer.

,, Dr. Majumdar.

,, S. C. Goho.

Shri K. P. N. Menon.

,, K. M. Kannampilly.

Sardar Pritamsingh.
Dr. Onkar Singh.
Swami Satyananda Puri.
Captain Mohansingh.
Captain Mohamed Akram.
Lt. Col. N. S. Gill.
Major M. L. Kiani.

Major Fujiwara acted as spokesman for the Japanese Press Representatives and Lt. Kunizuka translated.

Before the interview started Shri. Raghavan on behalf of the Indian Representatives thanked Major Fujiwara for having given them this opportunity to meet representatives of the Japanese Press. He welcomed the representatives of the papers and also the Japanese officials present.

Ques. What is the impression created in the minds of the Indians by the Japanese Victory in Malaya ?

Ans. Sri....replied. We have been watching with great interest the continuous Victory of the Nipponese Army through Malaya and feel proud as another Asiatic nation that Japan has been able to drive out British Imperialism from Malaya. This feeling of pride is universal among the Indians in this country. The reason for this Victory appears to us to be the spirit that actuates the Japanese soldier, which is so strong that it can win anything. More than everything else the Japanese soldiers think, feel, and act as one. Hence the phenominal Victory.

Ques. What do the officers of the Indian Army who fought against the Japanese think of this Victory ?

Ans. Capt....replied. I shall give our opinion from a purely military point of view. To us it appears that there were four reasons why the Japanese were able to win such a quick victory. Firstly the Japanese Army possessed superior armaments especially tanks and aeroplanes. Secondly they had a cause to fight for. They considered it their sacred duty to fight and sacrifice themselves for their country. Thirdly, they were better trained and better led and they were very hardy. Fourthly the Indian soldiers who formed the major part of the British Army had no cause to fight for. Their hearts were not in the fight. To make matters worse the British under-estimated the Japanese strength and were rudely surprised.

Ques. Britain and America have suffered disastrous defeats. Now what, according to the Indians, is the reason for this ?

Ans, Sri......replied Britain failed because, while the Japanese felt that they had a mission namely to liberate Asia from European control, those who fought for Britain, like the Indian soldiers, had no such mission. They could not enter into the fight whole heartedly. Britain and America underestimated the Japanese strength. The great discontent against the British in India, and other British possessions very much weakened the British cause. When Roosevelt assumed Presidentship for the third time, he had promised to keep America out of war. But later on he became a tool in the hands of Britain. The American public were not prepared for war when America entered into obligation with various countries which they

could not carry out. Hence they found that they had bargained for more than they could cope with.

Capt....replied from a military point of view, and gave six reasons for British and American defeat.

(i) Lack of preparation on the part of Britain. After the last war, while other nations were preparing Britain indulged in luxury. (ii) Democracy has been proved to be unsuitable for waging a total war. (iii) Japan could concentrate all her forces in one sphere of war while her enemies were obliged to distribute their forces. (iv) The China incident had made other countries to believe that Japan was completely exhausted. It gave a wrong impression to these countries of Japanese might. (v) Blood is thicker than water. The Japanese army is a homogeneous force while the British army was a rough mixture of various types and nationalities. (vi) The civilians in the spheres of war were very much discontented with the British and were ready to welcome the Japanese.

Ques. What is the general impression of the Japanese soldier and the Japanese civilians among the Indians?

Ans. Sri...replied, The first thing that impresses is the untiring energy and devotion to duty of the Japanese soldier. Secondly his simplicity in matters of food and clothing. We feel that on the administrative side there is not a good deal of co-ordination yet, but expect that it will come soon.

Capt......replied. He could not speak about Singapore but as far as he could see in other parts of Malaya, the Japanese did not bomb anything but Military objectives. The Japanese firing was very

accurate and economical. Where four shells of bombs were required they managed with three but never used five. The Japanese soldier is very hard and also very short tempered. He also seems to have a fascination for wrist and matches.

Swami Satyananda Puri said that while he was in Bangkok he had heard that the whole of Singapore was bombed out, but on arriving in Singapore he saw that no place without any military importance had been bombed.

Ques: What was the attitude of English towards the Indian civilians and Indian military officers?

Ans: Shri......replied, The Indian civilians were constantly treated with lies, bluff and treachery. They were told that there was plenty of war materials to defend the country. In the end the English paid attention to the safety of only their own women and children. A very large number of European women and children and also men were given facilities for evacuation. The Indians were told that there were no seats available but we have since learned that during the night time ships left with European evacuees. We were told for the last so many years that the Naval Base was one of the strongest in the world, and yet within three days it had to be abandoned. We also know that throughout the war in Malaya the Indian soldiers were always in the front. The war has been a series of rearguard actions, with the Indian troops forming the fighting line.

Capt...replied for the Army Officers. The English trea-

ted the Indian Army officers very fairly. Both English and Indian officers were on equal footing. The Indian officers were mostly young men who had been born and brought up under Congress influence in India. They bore no love for the British at heart. Therefore, the British and Indian officers lived as brothers only outwardly. Certain clubs in Malaya were not opened to Indians civil or military. In Indian army officers' mess the order was that only English meals should be served even though the majority of the officers were Indiaens. The difference in pay between the Indian soldier and the English soldier was very great and the Indian soldier knew it. He therefore felt that he was treated as an inferior. This created anti-British feeling. When the time of war came the English did not trust the Indians because Indians did not want to fight, otherwise Indian soldiers would have been trusted and well treated. As individuals Englishmen were very good to Indians but when the Question of policy came they became anti-Indian.

Ques: What is the Indian opinion regarding the achievement of Indian Independence and the establishment of the Far East prosperity ? How do the Indians aim to get their independence politically, economically and culturally ?

Ans: Shri......said that before he would ask Swami Satyanand Puri to reply he would like to have a definiton of the term "Coprosperity Spheres". Shri S.C. Goho however wanted Shri...himself to reply to the question. Shri... said there is no political minded Indian whether in

India or outside who does not want independenee for his country. We have been for years passed struggling against the British yoke. We have also found that the granting of Dominion Status or other concessions which would keep us still a part of the British Empire will not satisfy us. We want complete severance from Britain. Those parties in India which still favour a continuation of the Indo-Britsh connection do not have any following. Regarding the question how we propose to obtain our independence we believe that we have arrived at a time when we must strike for it. It should not be delayed. We hope that we will succeed; first because Japan has proved that the British power is not so strong as it was held to be; secondly we are led to believe that Japan will back us in our attempt if required. We believe that Japan will render us assistance not in her own selfish interest but in the interest of India and the whole of Asia. We believe that the New Order of Asia will not have the Pathological feature of the old order under which we have been so far suffering. In helping India Japan will be giving aid to an ancient country for the good of that country and not from any ulterior motives. Hence we welcome such help. As to the actual method to be adopted it is too early for me to say anything.

Capt....said that Indians at first wanted to win their independence in a peaceful manner without bloodshed. Now however they feel that they must adopt violence. For that they expect the co-operation of Japan as that of an Asiatic brother. They wish that permanent friendly relationship would be establi-

shed between the two countries. And that there would be no imperialistic intentions on the part of the either. They wish Japan to take Indians as a brother nation of Asia.

Shri......said that 'India wanted to gain economic independence by speedy industrialisation with the help of other Asiatic nations, particularly Japan. Culturally India is quite rich and is quite willing to establish cultural relationship with other Asiatic countries.

Ques. What is the opinion of Indians here regarding the recent visit of Chaiang Kai Sheik to India and his meeting with prominent Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. It is said that Britain is thinking of giving some freedom to India; if that is done what will be the position of the Independence League.

Ans. Shri.......replied that in the first place he did not believe that Britain would give India the kind of independence that Indians want. Any offer of a modification of Government or other kind of reform is sure to be rejected.

......said that Chaiang Kai Sheik's visit had proved a failure. He made psychological blunder in first visiting the Viceroy at New Delhi and not the Indian National Leaders. India suspected therefore that he had been secretly invited by the Government to induce the Congress Leaders to help Britain in the war. The result is that though the Congress may have sympathy with China it has declared that it cannot help China before India is free. Britain is reported to have agreed, as heard over the Radio to abolish the post of the Secretary of State

for India and grant a certain kind of National Government but the Congress is reported to have declared itself unwilling to accept any such reform.

Shri....said that if India is independent she will be free to enter into relationship with other friendly countries.

Ques: If Britain promises India complete independence after the war what will be the attitude of the Congress ?

Ans: Shri......replied that it was impossible for those outside India to say what the Congress will do but no Indian leader would believe in English promises.

......said that in February the All India Congress Cammittee had issued a manifesto that the Congress would not be satisfied with British promises. England should declare India independent.

Ques: After the fall of Singapore the Prime Minister of Japan issued a statement regarding India. How has that statement impressed the Indians ?

Ans: Shri...regretted that very few in Malaya know anything about that statement. More publicity should be given in Malaya and else where regarding Nipponese policy towards India. A closer understanding between the two countries will be possible only if that is done. Indians in Malaya saw only a very brief reference to the Japanese Prime Minister's statement. We are grateful for the declaration, but cannot give a detailed reply until the full declaration is seen.

Ques: India is a country of various complications. How can the difference in religion, language etc. be overcome ? Will not these differences act as a hindrance to the achievement of independence ?

Ans : Dr...replied : The differences in India were the result of nearly two centuries of British domination. Now there is no difference among the political minded Indians. Religion and language will not stand in the way of Independence.

Capt...declared that the religious differences in India were made use of by the British to exaggerate in the eyes of the world the difficulties in the path of India's political development. In less than two months he has been able to achieve among the Indian troops in Malaya what the Congress has not been able to achieve in many years. Among the Indian troops now there are no differences based on religion or language. They all live and eat together. This has been possible because there is no British power to put obstructions in the way. Britain usually gave out very wrong and highly exaggerated stories of religious strifes in India. He was surprised to be asked by Major Fujiwara on a previous occassion about a communal riot in Patna, in which 10,000 people were reported to have been killed. Actually there had never been any such riot in Patna.

Ques: After getting independence what kind of Government will India adopt ?

Ans: Shri......replied that India was not suited for Monarchy owing to the various factors present in the country. Only a democratic form of Government would be suitable to India.

Shri......said that the Indian National Congress was committed to a policy regarding the future government of India. Congress had declared that a Constituent

Assembly should be called and the future constituiton of the country should be drawn up by that Assembly. What it will be we cannot say, '

Ques: What do the Indians want from the Japanese people ?

Ans: ......replied that he would answer that Question from a cultural point of view. Owing to the long British rule Japan and India have become estranged. The two countries do not know each other. This is the first time that they have come together and a possibility of co-operation has been established. This co-operation is now of a political nature but political ties between countries are not, by the very nature, of a lasting type. Friendship between countries must be based on culture. Therefore cultural co-operation and friendship is what Indians want of the Japanese.

Capt....said that Indians wanted brotherly assistance from the Japanese in the achievement of their object, viz. independence of their Motherland.

Ques : The Japanese publicity Department is willing to help in giving publicity to the conclusions arrived at by the Indian delegates at their conference. If any of these conclusions can be given over the Department would be pleased to give publicity to them.

Ans. : Shri...regretted that the Delegation were not yet ready to give any publicity to their conclusions. He however thanked the Japanese publicity Department and the Press for their kind offer and said that the Indian Delegates would take full advantage of the offer at a later time.

Major Fujiwara on behalf of the Japanese and the

officers present thanked the Delegates for the interview. Shri......thanked the Major and the Japanese press and the officials for the very frank and friendly discussions they had had.

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Joint conference of representatives of the Indian Independence League of Malaya and Thailand held at the residence of Shri. S. C. Goho, at 3. 30 P. M. Tokyo Time, on Monday 9th March, 1942.

Present: The following gentlemen were present.

The Indian Independence League, Malaya.

1. Shri. N. Raghavan...Penang.
2. ,, B. K. Das.
3. ,, Suchasingh...Ipoh,
4. ,, K. A. N. Iyer...Kuala Lumpur.
5. Dr. Majumdar...Seremban.
6. Shri. S. C. Goho.
7. ,, K. P. K. Menon...Singapore.

Indian Independence League, Thailand.

8. Sardar Pritamsingh.
9. ,, Amarsingh.
10. Dr. Onkarsingh.

Indian National Council, Thailand.

11. Swami Satyanand Puri.

Indian National Army,

12. Captain Mohansingh.
13. Captain Mohamad Akarm.

Indian Prisoners of war,

14. Lieut, Col. N. S. Gill.
15. Major M. L. Kiani.

Mr. Otaguro attended the meeting as observer.

Shri. N. Raghavan presided and requested Major Fujiwara to open the Conference. Major Fujiwara expressed very great pleasure at having had the opportunity of meeting the representatives of the Indian Independence League of Thailand and Malaya. The meeting was of particular significance in that it was being held in the citadel of British Imperialism in Asia, namely Singapore. He wished the conference every success and earnestly hoped that their endeavours to liberate India would be crowned with success. He regrets that he could not remain longer with them owing to other engagements. Shri. Raghavan thanked Major Fujiwara for his very encouraging words. Major Fujiwara then left the meeting.

The chairman then requested Sardar Pritamsingh to address the meeting. Sardar Pritamsingh explained how the Indian Independence League was formed in Thailand at Bangkok and then thanked the Indians in Malaya for their ready co-operation in having organised branches of the League in all centres of Malaya.

The Chairman proposed a resolution appreciating the patriotic work of Sardar Pritamsingh and thanking him on behalf of the Indian community in Malaya for his selfless work in the cause of the liberation of their motherland. The resolution was acclaimed unanimously by the conference.

The chairman then pointed out that two points were to be considered by the conference-

1. Whether the present time is the proper occasion for the Indians in Far East to take action for the attainment of Indian Independence.
2. If this is the proper occasion, how should we proceed towards the attainment of our goal.

Captain Mohansingh said that he got into contact with Sardar Pritamsingh at a place near Jitra on 15th December, 1941 and learned about the Indian Independence League. Subsequently he met Major Fujiwara, and after that he had been in constant touch with them. At first he was doubtful of the Major's purpose, but now he was fully convinced of his sincerity in desiring to assist in the liberation of India from British control. The situation that all of them had visualised at that time was completely changed with the fall of Singapore. They did not expect to find in Singapore such a very large number of Indian soldiers, nearly 50,000. The total strength of the Indian Army now in Malaya was near, 60,000. To feed them, to equip them and to look after their other requirements would be big problem, and the Indian Independence League must give immediate consideration to it.

Lieut. Col. Gill spoke about the 50,000 Indian prisoners of war at Singapore and wished to know what was to become of them.

Swami Satyananda Puri explained the formation and objects of his organisation, the Indian National Council of Thailand. The objects were mainly, (1) to work in cooperation with the political activities in India (2) to win the sympathy of the Indian National Congress, (3) to secure an all India leader as President of the organisation. Explaining the third object, he told the meeting that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was reported to have stated that Indians residing outside India could not interfere in Indian politics and that those who do so could be considered as traitors. This organisation was therefore afraid that it might be treated as a body of Quislings in the pay of the Japanese. Unless all possibili-

ties of such a stigma were removed, nothing could be achieved. He therefore suggested that he be requested to lead us. Swami Satyanand Puri said that he had sent a Telegram to Shri. Bose from Bangkok on 2nd. February 1942, to that effect and had received a reply over the radio agreeing to accept the Presidentship of the Indian organisation in the Far East working for Indian Independence.

Shri. S. C. Goho requested Sardar Pritamsingh to explain to the conference the purpose of the proposed delegation to Tokyo.

The Sardar said that the delegation was proposed to meet in an informal conference at Tokyo, to discuss the problem of Indian representatives and to negotiate with Japanese authorities terms of cooperation with Japan for achieving the independence of India.

Liet. Col. Gill Stressed the importance of carryiug out effective propaganda in India to prepare the necessary atmosphere so that the Indian army overseas would receive the willing cooperation and help of all Indians when it should march into India. The Indian army had been till now fighting under certain pledges. Before they can break those pledges, they should be convinced that their former pledges were really in keeping with the honour and self-respect of free Indians, and that breaking them they would not be doing anything unsoldierly or dis-honourable. For that too propaganda among them was essential.

Sardar Pritamsingh said that some propaganda was being carried on in the troops and that more would be done on that line.

Shri. K. P. K. Menon discoursed at length on the

policy followed by the Indian National Congress till now. Two years ago the Working Committee of the Congress asserted complete independence as the goal of India. In the past the Congress had followed two methods both without success. It had first tried to appeal to the good sense and democratic sentiments of the British to grant freedom to the Indians. Later on, on the outbreak of the present war, Mahatma Gandhi started the 'No war campaign' which, however, did not ask the country to desist from helping in the war efforts by positively refusing men, money and material for the prosecution of the war. The result has been a "watchful inactivity" on the part of the Congress. There was a third course remaining, viz. the application of force. India was not prepared for that, but now that Japan was willing to offer us help, we should help it. Efficient and effective propaganda should also be carried on both inside and outside India.

Shri S. C. Goho spoke on the necessity of creating in India confidence in the intentions of Japan regarding India.

Swami Satyananda Puri suggested that Japan should make a declaration assuring Indian Independence. He mentioned that he had heard over the radio that the Working Committee of the Congress had removed on 13th January, 1942 "non-violence" from the creed of the Congress.

Shri Suchasingh stressed the necessity of immediate action as delay would be detrimental to the cause. India was ready for action.

Liet. Col. Gill agreed with Shri. Suchasingh. He said that if the British were to know of the intentions of the overseas Indians, they may remove the Indian units from India to the Middle coast and replace them with British

units. Moreover, delay would make the strength of the British in India greater as they would be able to produce more ammunition and war materials. Hence delay would be suicidal to the cause.

Summary of conclusions reached at the conference.

1. This is the time when all Indians in Asia should unite for Indian freedom.
2. We believe that the psychological moment has come to strike for Indian freedom.
3. The first thing to do is to carry on propaganda within and outside India among the military forces and civilians.
4. Shri. Subhash Chandra Bose should be requested to come to Tokyo and accept the leadership.

The meeting was adjourned till 10-30, A. M. Tokyo time. Tuesday, 10th Mrach,

A joint Conference of representatives of the Indian Independence league of Malaya and Thailand was held on Tuesday. 10th March 1942.

Here follows the summary of the conclusions arrived at the conference.

1. Preferably with, otherwise without, the approval of Indian National Congress, we decide to act, if we shall be convinced that the action that we are going to take will be in the best interest of India.
2. We decide to work for the liberation of India with the assistance and support of the Nippon Government,
3. Propaganda and infiltration is to be carried out by each and every means. Details are to be left to an expert committee.
4. The Tokyo conference is to be attended by shri. N, Raghavan. Sri. K. A. N. Ayer, Sri. S. C. Goho and

Shri K. P. K. Menon as representatives from Malaya, and Sardar Pritamisngh and Swami Satyananda Puri as representatives from Thailand.

The delegates from the Indian army will be decided later on.

5. *The delegation* can at this stage (at The Tokyo *conference*) commit themselves to not more than inducing the Indian National Leaders to the view that may be adopted by the delegates at the Conference.

6. A resolution for placing Indian Prisoners of war in Singapore on the same footing as the Indian National Army unanimously passed, to be forwarded to Major Fujiwara and any one else he may suggest.

The Conference is adjourned sine die.

Captain Mohansing about whom, we shall hear a lot more in the succeeding chapters was won over by the Japanese Commander to his side soon after the fall of Singapore. The Japanese were able to convince Captain Mohansing that out of the Indian soldiers who had fallen into the hands of Japanese as war prisoners, the greatest possible number should be persuaded to fight against the British. Capt. Mohansing expressed his readiness to do the job. Major Fujiwara invited these war-prisoners also to attend the meeting of the Indian leaders, which he had called on the 17th.

The British Commander of Singapore at the time of his surrender had addressed himself to the Indian soldiers thus- "To day on behalf of the British Government I hand you over to the Japanese Government. From now on, you have to obey their orders as you have been obeying mine

till now." These words had wounded the hearts of many Indian soldiers at the time.

Practically identical words were uttered by Major Fujiwara during the meeting of the 17th. Addressing the war-prisoners, he had said "Today on behalf of the Japanese Government I hand you over to Captain Mohansing. From now on, he is the sole arbiter of your life and......death."

After uttering these words, he urged the Indian soldiers to start the "Indian National Army." Captain Mohansing also did the same thing. Many soldiers had not formulated any specific ideas on the subject at that time. yet numerous volunteers came forward to enlist themselves in the Indian National Army. Thus Capt. Mohansing came to be the leader of the I. N. A.

Yet it was apparent that right from the beginning the Indian leaders wanted to tread warily in their dealings with Japan. Their one and sole purpose was the liberation of their motherland.

II

THE FIRST ATTEMPT

The first conference was to meet under the presidentship of Mr. Rash Behari Bose on the 28th of March 1942. The venue of the conference was the Shinto hall of Tokyo. The leaders of the Indian community, residing in the various countries that had come under the occupation of Japan, were proceeding to Tokyo full of hope and plans of liberating the land of their birth. Their one and only thought was the freedom of India from the British yoke.

Here we have to take note of a strange similarity that generally has escaped the notice of many people. Japan took Singapore on 15th February. By March 7th, its armies had reached and captured Rangoon. The fall of Rangoon unnerved the British Cabinet and they decided to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India. That decision was made known on the 11th of March. On the 25th March, Sir Stafford landed in India and on the 28th, when the Indian leaders of greater East Asia were meeting in a conclave in the Capital of Japan, The representative of the British Cabinet was engaged in discussions with Indian leaders—discussions which centred round the question of giving India the power it sought for. On March 28th, Sir Stafford Cripps announced the Britsh proposals for India, and on the same day, an announcement from the Japanese Premier Hideki Tojo was rsad before the Tokyo Gonterence. On that day, two honest attempts waer being made at one and the same

time, to gain independence for India from two powerful Imprerialist Powers of the world. Subhash Babu had reached Berlin by that time and had begun to broadcast to the world from the Berlin Radio station.

Those, who read newspapers, would remember that exactly during those fateful days the news of Subhash Babu's death was circulated throughout the world. Reuters told us that Subhash Babu was killed in an air-crash while proceeding from Thailand to Tokyo. After a lapse of two or three days, the above news was contradicted and it was said that Mr. Bose, who died in the air-crash, was not Subhash Chandra Bose but he was Mr. Rash Behari Bose. In fact, this also turned out to be wrong, because one Bose was in Berlin at that time while the other Bose was in Tokyo.

The fact was that an aeroplane carrying the Indian delegates from Thailand to Tokyo did crash near the coast of Japan and the four servants of India, who were travelling by that plane, did perish. Indians lost four of their beloved leaders-Swami Satyananda Puri, Dr. Pritamsing, Mr. K. A. N. Ayer and Capt. Akramkhan-in this crash.

The Indian Independence Conference was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. Rash Behari Bose, at Sanno Hotel, Tokyo, Japan, from Saturday, the 28th March, 1942, to Monday, the 30th March 1942, at which the following representatives were present:-

1. Mr. Rash Behari Bose..........................Chairman.
2. Mr. N. Raghavan.
3. Mr. K. P. K. Menon.
4. Mr. S. C. Goho.
5. Mr. Mohansingh.
6. Mr. N. S. Gill.

.Members of the Good-will Mission from Malaya.

7. Mr. D. M. Khan.
8. Mr. M. R. Mullick. } ...Delegates from Hongkong.

9. Mr. O. Asman.
10. Mr. Piarasingh. } ...Delegates from Shanghai.

11. Mr. D. M. Deshpande.
12. Mr. A. M. Nair.
13. Mr. C. Lingham. } Representative from Japan.

14. Mr. B. D. Gupta.
15. Mr. S. N. Sen.
16. Mr. L. R. Miglani.
17. Mr. Rajah Sherman.
18. Mr. K. V. Narain.

1ST DAY, SATURDAY, THE 28TH MARCH 1942.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the Chairman, opened the Conference at 2 p. m. with a welcome address to all the Delegates and other gentlemen and requested their whole-hearted co-operation in the attainment of the common object, viz, the complete independence of India.

At the outset, the Chairman expressed heart-felt consent on the sad demise of four colleagues, namely Mr. Pritamsing and Mr. Satayananda Puri from Thailand and Mr. K. A. N. Iyer and Mr. A. Mahomed from Malaya, who were to attend this conference and who met a fatal air-accident while on their way to Tokyo.

All stood up and offered profound prayer in silence for the repose of the souls of the departed patriots. The conference resolved to send letters of condolence to the bereaved families and Mr. Raghavan kindly undertook the responsibility of conveying the letters.

RESOLVED

1 (a) That this conference is shocked and grieved at the news of the Air disaster, in which four Indian representatives, Messrs. Iyer and Mohamed from Malaya

and Mr. Pritamsingh and Swami Satyanand Puri from Thailand, who were travelling to Tokyo, lost their lives and, while expressing its deep sense of sorrow, place on record the great loss to the movement and to Indians generally caused by their untimely deaths.

(b) That a copy of this Resolution be sent with the condolence of this conference to the members of the bereaved families,

2. That this conference shows its sincerest sympathies to the members of the bereaved families of Mr. Otogoro and six other Japanese gentlemen, who lost their lives while travelling by plane to Tokyo.

At this stage Colonel Iwagoro, who attended representing the government of Japan very kindly gave an address of welcome to the members of the conference. On behalf of the Imperial Government of Japan, he gave whole-hearted support to this conference in its noble efforts to admire independence of India.

Mr. Raghavan, on behalf of the Conference thanked suitably Colonel. Iwagoro and through him the Imperial Government and the Japanese people for their kind encouragement.

AGENDA No. 1: Attitude of the Indians regarding this War was then taken up and the following resolution was read and unanimously passed.

RESOLUTION: Whereas we believe that this War of Greater East Asia is sure to destroy British influence and power in Asia and whereas we believe that this is a golden opportunity for the realization of India's national goal which is nothing but complete independence, and where as depending upon the self-conscious efforts of various Asiatic Nations, a

new Asia is sure to arise as a result of this war, we hereby resolve that we must join hands with Japan in accordance with the declared policy of the Imperial Japanese Government made through Premier General Tojo on the occasion of the fall of Singapore.

DECLARATION OF PREMIER GENERAL TOJO

" IT is a golden opportunity for India having as it does several thousand years of history and splendid cultural tradition to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of British and participate in the construction of the Greater East India Co-prosperity sphere. Japan expects that India will restore its proper status of India for the Indians and it will not stand away in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission forgetting her history and tradition, and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation and act at their back and call I cannot but fear that an opportunity for the renaissance of the Indian people would be for ever lost."

AGENDA No. II. Complete Independence of India.

1. Ideology of Independence.

After discussions, in which all members participated, it was resolved that, UNITY, FAITH, SACRIFICE shall be the Motto of the Independence Movement.

2. Nature and Tone of Independence.

The meaning of the complete Independence of India was fully clarified and the following resolution was unanimously passed: " That Independence Complete and free from foreign domination, interference and-or control of whatever nature, shall be the object of the movement and

in the opinion of the Conference now is the right time to achieve the object and secure such Independence.

AGENDA III :–To spread Independence Movement in East Asia and in India, it was ultimately decided to act as follows:–

EAST ASIA : By Broadcast, Leaflets, Pamphlets, News Paper Articles, Lectures, Demonstrations, Music, etc, By Broadcast, Leaflets, Infiltration Establishments of contacts with Indian Leaders and Organizations, etc, etc.

ORGANIZATION.

(a) Formation of Local Branches or Leagues. For the duration of war, President to be elected by Committee formed at a meeting of the representatives of the place. Vacancies on the Committee to be filled by the majority of the Committee. President, not to be removed without the vote of the three–fourths of the members of the Committee.

(b) Central. The President of the various local bodies together with the representatives of the Indian Army in East Asia, which representatives shall not exceed the total number of civilian members of the Committee, will form a committee of the Representatives, who will lay down the general policy of action and elect a COUNCIL OF ACTION, consisting of a President and four staff members of whom at least two shall be from the MILITARY.

The Council of Action shall be responsible for the working out of the Central Policy and in such working out they shall appoint departmental officers for the purpose of Administration.

DEPARTMENTS.

CIVIL: (a) Foreign Department or Liaison Department.

(b) Finance Department.

(c) Legal Department.

(d) Propaganda Department.

(e) Administration of Branches.

(f) Relief Department.

(g) Civil Police and Intelligence Department.

(h) Civil Volunteers Department.

MILITARY. Indian National Army Head-quarters.

(a) War Department.

(b) Recruits Department.

(c) Military Intelligence and military Police Department.

(d) Prisoners of war.

1. It is resolved that, if in the discussion of the Council of Action, it is feasible to summon a meeting of the representatives and take their advice on the matter of general policy, the Council shall do so.

2. It is resolved that, before taking any military action against India, including Ceylon, contrary to the wishes, policy or opinion of the the Indian National Congress, the Council of Action shall first get the approval of the Committee of Representatives and act as directed.

3. We request that military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army and under the Command of Indians, together with such Military, Naval and Air co-operation and assistancc as may be requested from the Japanese authorities by the Council of Action.

REQUESTS TO IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

1. It is resolved that, in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Government

of Japan be requested to make a formal declaration to the effect:-

(a) That Japan is ready and willing to give all possible help to India to sever its connection from the British Empire to attain complete Independence.

(b) That on such severance of India from the British Empire, Japan would recognise the full sovereignty of India on attaining Independence.

(c) The absolute Independence of India would be guaranteed by the Imperial Government of Japan.

(d) That the Imperial Government of Japan would exercise its influence with other powers and induce them to recognise the Independence and sovereignty of India.

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of thepeople of India.

2. It was resolved to request the Imperial Government of Japan to render such financial help for the successful carrying out of our object as may be required from time to time; on the distinct understanding that such help is to be treated as a loan to be repaid to Japan by the National Government of Independent India when it comes into being.

3. To give all facilities for propaganda Travel, Transport and communications. within the area under the control of the Imperial Japanese Government in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action and also all facilities to come into contact with the National Leaders workers and organizations of India.

4. To clarify the position of the Indian troops now under control in occupied territories.

5. To recognise and facilitate the use of the present National Flag of India in all territories under the Imperial Government of Japan.

6. To consult in all matters of Administration affecting the Indian community, the Indian Independence League of the representative places and in places where there is no League, recognised leaders of the community approved by the League Branch to such places.

RESOLUTION OF INTERIM CONSTITUTION.

A. This Conference resolves that in order to obtain full support and co-operation of Indians in various parts of Greater East Asia, a fuller conference of Indian representatives should be called at Rangoon or any other suitable place at the earliest opportunity and that Mr. Rash Behari Bose is hereby authorised to take the necessary steps to give effect to the various decisions made by this Conference pending their ratification at a later conference stated above.

B. This conference hereby appoints Mr. Rash Behari Bose as an interim President of the Council of Action.

C. Resolved that the next Conference shall be held before the first June, 1942, if possible, and in any case not later than the 1st of July, 1942, and the interim President shall make the necessary arrangements.

D. Resolved that at the next conference besides the Presidents and-or representatives of various Indian Independence Leagues as here in after limited (in person or proxy) and military representatives of Indian Army in East India, all the members attending this conference should also be invited to attend.

The conference to ratify the decisions stated herein shall be held at Bangkok in the 3rd week of May, 1942 and representatives and–or presidents not exceeding the number indicated here in below may attend the said conference.

Japan	8	Hongkong	8	Thailand	9
Shanghai	8	Macao and Manila	2	Indo China	5
Malaya	20	Burma	20	East India	8
Port Blair	2			(Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes)	

TOTAL 90

Representatives of the Indian Army in East Asia will also attend as previously agreed to under Agenda III 2 b.

GENERAL.

A. That this conference is committed to a definite policy of the closest co–operation with Japan and it shall on eliciting an official definition of the term "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," and its implications endeavour by every possible means at the command of this movement.

To confer on Japan the most favoured Nation treat ment on a reciprocal basis.

B. This conference places on record its profoundest gratitude to the Imperial Government of Japan for their active sympathy for the cause of Indian Independence and expresses its thanks for their generous hospitability and for the ample facilities provided for the successful termination of this conference.

C. This conference places on record its profound thanks to Mr. Rash Behari Bose who by tact, patience and geniality as Chairman, contributed not a little to the success of this conference.

D. While they individually find themselves in perfect agreement with the decision of this conference, the members of the good-will mission of Malaya, hereby make their position clear in taking part in this conference that they do not commit the Indians in Malaya to the decision of this conference, but will try their best to induce them to the views of the conference.

Mr. Asman's suggestions on education and other matters contained in Appendix B attached hereto are noted for action at the opportune time.

APPENDIX B:—

1. Specific instruction should be given to any troop attacking India to refrain themselves and to stop others from destroying or damaging places of worship belonging to the various religious bodies in order to avoid any sort of friction liable to be caused by such sabotage acts.

2. As soon as possible, the property of the Indian-Government and other rich Indians considered Pro-British including the Indian Princes—should be placed under the joint control and custody of the occupying Indian troops to avoid embezzlement or looting, etc, so that on the expiration of the war the Indian Government may be in a position to cover up the expenses.

3. In all kinds of Government affairs, external or internal the Indian religious leaders should not be consulted and their membership should never be taken in various State Councils.

4. Compulsory education, irrespective of male and female sect, should be started as soon as possible on realization of the independence of India.

5. Various societies opened in different cities, found

not in favour of achieving complete independence of India and not co-operating with the main body, should be dissolved as soon as possible.

6. Able and patriotic volunteers should be enlisted from each and every part of East Asia including Shanghai, Hongkong, Java, Sumatra, etc, so that they can enjoy equal privileges in order that they may also partake in serving their Motherland.

7. All Indian Nationals, irrespective of their financial standing, class or religion, should be treated on an equal footing in the matter of State affairs.

8. In War time just as women in all countries of the world are allowed to take full share in rendering their best services for the freedom of their respective countries similarly Indian women are also anxious to fulfil their duty, in every possible way.

III

THE ADVENT OF UNITY

In the course of the last chapter, we saw how unity between the Indians residing in various countries of the Far East was established. These Indians had accepted Mr. Rash Behari Bose as their accredited leader and had taken the pledge of complete, Independence for India.

Work, directed towards the fulfilments of this pledge was instantaneously started. A new air of buoyancy had begun to blow in the Far Eastern countries, Singapore was rechristened Syonan and had become the head-quarters of the Indian Independence League. Mr. Raghavan was an Indian Leader of Malaya. We get an idea of what the Indians got during and after their trip to Tokyo, from a statement made by Mr. Raghavan himself. We know that before going to Tokyo the Indian leaders entertained doubts regarding the aspirations of Japan. In the succeeding chapters, we shall also see how they came into conflict with the Japanese authorities. But the trip to Tokyo had reassured them. It had inspired confidence in their hearts. After returning from Tokyo, the Indian leader, Mr. Raghavan and the Japanese Commander, Major Fujiwara, addressed a public meeting held in Syonan for the first time. Their addresses, though couched in different languages, were identical in tone. The following are the excerpts, first from Mr. Raghavan's and then from Major Fujiwara's speeches.

Speech delivered by Shri. Raghavan on Friday, 24th April 2602 at the Independence League Headquarters, Syonan:

" This, I understand, is the first public meeting of the Indians of Syonan—after the fall of Singapore. Such being the case, I cannot let this occasion pass without giving expression on your behalf to our 'feelings of pleasure at the phenomenal success of Nipponese Army in the Malayan Campaign. It was a success which has few parallels or precedents in History. Indians, who understood most the bane of British Power and Imperialism in two different countries, appreciated best the liberation of Malaya from the clutches of our late administrators. We are glad that the very first chapter in war of Greater East Asia happened to be written in this country of our adoption. We feel a surging happiness that here at last is given an opportunity to live as an Asiatic people in an Asiatic Regime and co-operate to the best of our ability in the making of what I may call Asiatic Asia. Allow us to congratulate most heartily the valiant General, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army in Malaya, who in the shortest possible time and with least possible loss, captured this land and dealt a deadly blow to the British power and prestige, throughout the world. To General Yama Shita our thanks; and those Indians, who live in this country along with other communities pledge their complete co-operation and whole-hearted loyalty in the noble programme, which, they know, Nippon has set before herself to perform.

It is felt and rightly felt that the programme—her dreams of a Great Asia, her aim and ideal to contribute to her best, to facilitate the progress of this Great Conti-

-nent of ours on her own lines of culture and civilization, can never be complete, can never achieve success until and unless Hindustan, our Hindustan, our Mother Land, that Great Glorious Land, steeped in the noblest of human traditions, the cradle of great Religions, Philosophies, Arts, Science and Learning, Hindustan, which at one time, and that not very long ago, was leading the world, but which has today too proudly shaken off the ignoble chains that the British Tresspasser has imposed upon her, until and unless that Hindustan of ours is helped to free herself from the foreign incubus. The prayer of every Indian every day for more than a century has been that this country may be free. In our own days and with our own limited and restricted means, we have been fighting the worst, the most arrogant, the most artful and bullying imperialism the world has ever known. In that great battle many have lost their lives, many courted prisons, thousands bore their Cross and walked about the World bare-headed but staking their all for the national regeneration. Two hundred years of foreign exploitation might have sapped our vitality, even affected our moral make-up, but it could not kill our spirit. Even after two hundred years, we could produce leaders the like of whom world has rarely seen. Men like Mahatma Gandhi could never be the product of a broken or bankrupt people. But even Mahatmaji's life is human and subject to human limitations. And if we Indians want to secure independence for our Motherland during the life of Mahatmaji himself, it became evident quite soon that methods other than what we have been pursuing hitherto may also have to be pursued to supplement the great effort that men, women and children at home are ma-

king with courage and perseverence. Nippon also knew that and we who came into contact with her, we who understood the vigour and ease with which she rejected the British from this part of Asia, came to realise that the time had come for our dreams to come true. What has been our prayer for century, we understood was Nippon's desire today. We soon came to know that in the pursuit of her policy Nippon has adopted our cause as her own. It might be that she has done so not merely for the cause of India but for the whole of Asia, as part of a programme of work, her national mission. It may be that she did so because the seed that Major Fujiwara, that friend of India, sowed is grown up into a big and expanding tree. A free India will be a very strong bulwark of a liberated Asia and a great asset to the future happiness of mankind.

We, Indians, residing in East Asia—and the vast majority of them are in Malaya and Burma, should consider ourselves particularly fortunate that we have been privileged to live in these times, that we are fated to be the humble instruments of God for securing the Independence of our Motherland.

Right from the arrival of Nipponese Forces in this country, we felt that here were friends, here were men, who would one day help us to get back our position in the world, but we never knew that day was so very imminent. How could we ever know that things would happen with such lightening rapidity, events shaped and developed with kaliedoscopic speed. Soon we were told that if India wanted it, Nippon would go out to her fullest capacity to help her in her fight for freedom. I tell you honestly, many of us had doubts, even fears. It is

something almost unheard-of in history. History records only of instances when nations tried to make the fullest use of every opportunity to grab another country and its possessions to further their own ends. Those, unacquainted with the New Spirit in Nippon, those, whose misfortune has been to come into almost fatal contact with the materially awakened but spiritually impotent British power, may be excused in regarding any selfless ideas of brotherly love and disinterestedness with certain amount of suspicion. If they did not take philanthrophic assurances without initial pinch of salt, they would have been untrue to themselves and untrue to their cause. Though we had the greatest admiration for Nipponese Armies and the sincerest desire for Nipponese friendship, we still had our heart-searchings. I shall be untrue to you and to myself and also to my Nipponese friends if I do not admit here and now that I had a good deal of misgivings too.

So it was that we accepted the invitation to visit Nippon to see things at first hand and to make our own conclusion. We also jumped at the opportunity. Though many of us had not recovered then from the economic and physical upsets of the War, we accepted the invitation, because whatever doubts we had, we were, to say the very least, confirmed believers in the future of Asia, and its necessary preliminary Indo-Nipponese understanding and friendship. We went therefore not merely as a mission for exploration but as a mission for construction.

What we witnessed in Nippon was the pleasantest of surprises. We were not prejudiced, but were examining things with what I may term as judicial caution. We saw that the desire to help India was not merely confined to

the politically minded people but extended to the whole nation. We were touched with the sincere regard that the Nipponese had towards India and Indians. We were moved considerably with the strength and substance of Nipponese goodwill. At every turn we were shown that here was a Nation that meant what it said. There was little or nothing of diplomacy in their actions. On the other hand, they erred on the side of simplicity and bluntness. From such people we heard that Japan will not rest content until India was completely free. The assurance was all the more welcome, because it was given not an air of superiority or patronage but in a spirit of mutual friendship and understandings. In fact, Nippon had ample justification for assuming an attitude of superiority, but they are modest people—the Nipponese, and today inspite of their colossal project and unprecedented success they in Nippon still remain modest and unspoilt. The impression that we got was that almost to a man they feel today that we should become completely free not merely from the British yoke but from all foreign control, including their own. Only a nation with a great soul can feel that way; and only a people who still have retained a great soul can understand that feeling. At the head of the Nipponese Army and Cabinet today stands a stalwart figure; a faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, and through that great head, through Premier General Tojo himself, the nation assured us of its support in whatever manner India and Indians needed it. You must have heard of his first declaration made before our departure to Nippon: but on two important occasions—one solemm and sacred, the other informal but none the less

frank. Premier Tojo made the national attitude quite plain. At the *Honganji Temple* at *Tokyo, almost over the* dead bodies of the four departed souls, he said: "The cause for which they gave up their lives need not go in vain. With Japanese support, the 40,00,00,000 Indians, no longer must submit to the British policy of exploitation, since the time has come for the end of the long history of British Imperialism, with the ushering in of the New Order in Greater East Asia. In expressing sympathy over the loss of the four heroic souls, I pledge to extend all possible aid for the complete Independence of India". Then again he told us at a subsequent interview with him, "I want to state frankly that the Japanese Government cannot remain indifferent to the fact that England is going to make India the base of its Eastern Defence. In view of this fact, the Japanese Government sincerely expect that Indians would throw away the British yoke by themselves and create an Independent India. I hope when you go back to your respective places you would make this feeling of ours clear to your respective countrymen and work unitedly to exterminate the British yoke and create India of Indians. As has been repeatedly stressed by me, the Japanese Government is fully sympathetic towards your efforts and will not hesitate to render all possible help in this respect.

That was the message that we have been asked to convey to you. It is therefore time, high time, to perfect our organizations and launch an active programme of work. The Independence Leagues of India, Malaya and in other places are already examining all avenues for action. At the present stage, I appeal to you to be prepared. Opportunity comes not always in the history of people. A

golden opportunity is here, and with the friendly co-operation and assistance of Nippon, as much co-operation and assistance as may be required given in an abundant measures and with full heart we shall march towards our goal.. Let weaklings lag behind but valiant hearts shall go forward !

Vande Matram.

Address by Major Fujiwara delivered at a mass meeting of the Indians in Syonan on Friday, 24th April, 2602.

It is very significant that this mass meeting of all Indian inhabitants of Syonan to have been convened on this very day which has witnessed a very impressive and solemn service, and on this very island which has witnessed the greatest change in the history of the world.

The significance of this meeting has been further enhanced by the attendance of the delegates to Tokyo Conference under the leadership of Mr. Raghavan, and civil-military delegates from-and all important towns in Malaya. I have the greatest pleasure in attending this meeting and gladly avail of this opportunity to express my sentiments.

Gentlemen, things have changed completely in Great Asia. All strategic positions and key points from which Britain and America had conquered, ruled and squeezed Asia, have fallen so completely that not even the shadow of a single enemy place can be seen over these parts of Asia. I believe, you, who only few months ago witnessed with your own eyes and experienced with your own bodies, the arrogance, insolence and obstinacy of the British, must be filled with emotion even deeper than mine at this momentous change.

Great changes have even come over the Great India, which the British believed as their unassailable fortress and treasure-house. From outside, the British in India are suffering from the blockade imposed on them by the Imperial Nipponese Navy, Air Force, and Army. From inside, they are suffering from the drastic contempt and rejection of 400 millions of Indian masses.

I am confident India has never before during her vast experience in the past faced such a great and eminent crisis.

At the same time, I am also confident that India never before in her history has had such a better opportunity to secure a bright future. India is facing the Rubicon. If she becomes the cat's paw of Britain and throws her beautiful country and beloved people into the fires of hell and eternal war, she will ruin her racial belief and destroy the integrity of her country. If she crushes down the British yoke and exterpates the British influence, she will gain complete independence and freedom.

Should she adopt the former course, and join her fate with the setting sun of the British, she will commit suicide, she will never gain the independence, and will be mentioned in the history as the perpetual enemy of India. But if she takes the latter course, she will regain the independence of Great India and the honour of her ancestors; she will maintain her racial belief and national integrity. I have the greatest respect and highest admiration for your patriotic and intelligent Indian leaders, who are taking the right course, and for the Indian masses, who are advancing so bravely on the true path.

I feel great sympathy for the Indian Independence

Movement, which, notwithstanding its long history, could not succeed upto now. Its lack of success in the past was attributable to certain disadvantages such as objective situation, cunning policy of the British, powerful threat of non-violence, lack of consciousness and spirit in Indian people, and fickle constancy of some Indian leaders.

All these difficulties have been overcome. The problem now is how to translate racial ideals into strong and united action.

The Independence Movement has now reached the vital stage of "Realization" apart from "Discussion". I think, there has been no time as the present, when the demand for sagacity and intrepid spirits from the whole of Indian nation, has been greater.

The Imperial Japanese Government is making necessary preparations for the achievement of your sincere desire—the revival of your glorious motherland, to give all possible assistance. Japan wishes to help, because Japan owes you a debt of gratitude for the marvellous culture which she received from your motherland in the ancient days. Japan feels sympathy for India and righteous indignation against the British-white devil blood-suckers. Japan and India have a common aim—the exterpation of the British from Asia. Japan's preparations for assisting India are just as complete and just as ready to come, as an arrow in a bow with a tight string is ready to fly. General Tojo's declaration, repeated official talks by Japanese responsible quarters and the impression gained by the delegates to Tokyo Conference will confirm the thoroughness and readiness of these preparations.

Japanese Imperial Navy hes started to bomb the main

strategic position in India. These operations will become more active. Our only aim is to ruin British Naval and Military objectives.

Japan is fighting for the destruction of the British influence in India and NOT the Indian people.

But if India should disbelieve Japanese sincerity and deluded by sugared words, wicked threats and lure of the British rulers, dare to become a British puppet, and take the way of the Traitor of Great Asia, Japan will be compelled to fight her. It will be the greatest ever known tragedy of Great Asia. I am terrified to think of it.

I pray that the Indian Nation will fight to get her glorious Independence by herself exterpating the British. I have worked strenuously with your Indian comrades in Malaya, only to foster the feelings of brother-hood between the two races.

I have been fortunately successful in winning the friendship of so many sincere, clever and patriotic friends in Malaya. I am looking forward of time in exchanging good will and renewing our friendship.

If any Indian should ever endeavour by some unconscious act to bring misunderstanding or hostility between you and me I will be very much annoyed and can't have a wink of sleep at night. I am determined with all might and main at my command to check it and take all possible measures to stop it,

I want to make this message. expressing my frank opinions, as my greetings and compliments to you.

A conference of delegates from the Independence League of India, Malaya, was held on wednesday, 22nd April, 2602, After discussion, the conference arrived at many co-

nclusions. A summary of the most important of them is given below:—

The conference thanked the delegation sent to Tokyo for their splendid work in the cause of Indian Independence.

The Report of the Tokyo Conference was accepted.

It was decided to make representations to the authorities to have transport facilities at the disposal of the Independence Movement; such facilities to be under the control of the secretaries.

The following Legues were accepted as State Leagues:—

Syonan, Batu Pahat, Malacca, Seamban, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Penang, Alor Star, Kangar Kota Bharu, Kuala Trengganu, Raub.

A supreme Council for Malaya made up of a President and four others was elected as follows:

Shri N. Raghavan—President.
,, K. P. K. Menon.
,, S. C. Goho.
,, S. N. Chopra.
Dr. Lakshmyah.

The Commander of the Indian National Army, Malaya, would be an ex-officio member of the Council as Military Adviser, Sri B. K. Das was elected as Secretary of the Supreme Council. Whole-time workers may be paid honoraria according to the discretion of the Supreme Council.

Each State League should transfer 25 p.c. of its income to the Central Body. The Central Body can always draw on any funds belonging to the State Leagues. Any League in need of financial assistance would be helped according to the discretion of the Central Body.

The Military Administration of Malaya should be approached to have the Independence League of India, Malaya Branch, recognised by the various military administrative departments in Malaya as the only legal Indian Political Body throughout Malaya.

It is decided to ask that the Independence League of India be recognised both for the Independence of India, as well as for tackling local Indian problem and to request the Government that the League be consulted on all matters connected with Indians in Malaya.

Thereafter on 26th and 27th April, 2602, Lt. Kunisho, Shri Raghavan, Shri Goho, Shri Menon, Dr. Lakshmyah, Shri Chopra, and Shri Das (Secretary) saw Major Fujiwara at the latter's place. Important summary of the working of the meeting is given below:—

Major Fujiwara suggests that the office of the Central Committee be near Fujiwara Kikan at Bukit Timah. Two houses will be allotted one for office and the other for residential purposes. Shri Raghavan informs the Major that all Tokyo resolutions–some with verbal alterations only–were accepted in the conference. The working of the League will be started after formal acceptance of the resolutions as soon as possible.

Mr. Raghavan says that the authorities should recognise the League as representing Indians in Malaya in matters of local importance. The League will have a department in each centre dealing with local affairs and this may be termed as "Consultative Committee". The Major says that there will be no political parties for Chinese, Malaya or Indians in Malaya, but the administration will have departments dealing with the welfare of each community. He

agrees with the League having a Local Affairs Department to deal with the persons chosen by the League. There will be mutual understanding that the League can, through its special department, deal with the administration but there will be no official recognition of this department of the League. The main function of the League will nevertheless be the attainment of the Independence of India.

The Major further intimates that while in his tour in the mainland, he will tell the administration that the League will give such advice and assistance as may be needed and that the administration on their part should extend their co-operation to the League.

FACILITIES FOR TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION.

The Major says that this will be done and that details are being worked out and will be made known later.

Propaganda. The Major promises all assistance in this connection.

Indian Prisoners of War in Singapore:—In reply to Raghavan's plea, the Major says, preparations are already being made to place these persons on the same footing as members of the Indian National Army. Tokyo Government has decided that they should no longer remain prisoners of war

Indian National Army:—The Major says that it will take some time to infuse a new spirit in the Indian Army. Therefore, a nucleus of the Indian National Army will be formed with 500 commissioned offiers, 1000 non-commissioned officers and 1000 privates, who will be given special training. The rest will be split up into different

groups and assigned for garrisoning work, labour, technical training, etc, and will be attached to the Japanese Army. These troops will be paid pocket money, almost but not the same amount as the Japanese troops. Contributions will be asked for from these troops to the National Army. The strength of the National Army will be decided upon by the Indian officers. Japanese authorities wish to nominate Captain Mohansingh as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, but if Indian Civilians have any other opinion, the Major would like to know. Shri Raghavan says that the Indian Civilians wish Captain Mohansing to be the Commander-In-Chief.

Then again Mr. Raghavan suggests that propaganda be carried on in the Army and that the number of men taken in to form the nucleus be much larger than that suggested by the Major. The Major says all soldiers will be taken together, but they will be split up into different batches. He says that the fighting qualities of the Indian soldiers are very good but their revolutionary spirit is nil. He refers to the 1,00,000 men limited to Germany by the Versallies' Treaty, who form the back-bone of the present German Army. A large Army can be created in a very short time—a month or so—if the nucleus is properly trained and is imbued with the real revolutionary spirit. The Major wishes to have Civilian volunteers as well. The Head Quarters of the National Army will be at Nee Soon Camp and a department will be set apart to deal with this question. He wishes to train 300 to 400 Civilians as officers to from the nucleus of the Civilian volunteers.

Re: Army:—He wishse to utilize as may as possible for special work such as Military, Transport, Aeroplane,

Engineering party, pioneers, etc. Political and spiritual training will be left to the Indian National Army Supreme command. Other training will be under the control of the Japanese Army Authorities and the troops attached to the Japanese Army will be considered as part of the Japanese Army. For the present only the nucleus will be called "The Indian National Army", the others after training will become members of the Indian National Army. Prisoners will be freed in course of two or three weeks.

IV

CONTACT WITH SUBHASH

The Tokyo Conference had decided to hold without delay a bigger conference, which would be representative of all the Indians, residing in the various countries of East Asia. According to this decision, a Conference of Indians was held at Bangkok on 15th June– a Conference which ultimately became historic– at least for the Indians. The first real contact with Subhash Babu was also effected through the instrumentality of this conference. It was then that the world came to appreciate the worth of Subhash and realise that his work did not end with the broadcast speeches he delivered from Berlin radio. Of course, India came to know of the establishment of the Indian National Army in Europe only after a lapse of two years.

Here I reproduce the message which Subhash sent to the President of the Reception Committee of the Bangkok Conference;

"I am delighted to have your message inviting me to your Conference which is going to meet under the distinguished Presidentship of the revolutionary leader Rash Behari Bose. Since it is not possible to join you in person, I must content myself with sending you this message conveying my most cordial greetings. The branches of the Azad Hind Sang in Europe also associate with me in sending this message.

After Stafford Cripp's departure from India, the last phase in our national struggle has begun. In this historic struggle all nationalists, whether in India or outside, must

play their part. The experience I have gained during the last 18 months has convinced me that in our fight against British Imperialism the Tripartite—powers are our best friends and allies outside India and I have no doubt that they will gladly render us such assistance as we may need. But the emancipation of India must be the work primarily of Indians themselves. We who are the vanguard of the National Army have the sacred mission of leading the national struggle to a successful conclusion. Though I have clear and definite views regarding post-war reconstruction in India, it is the Indian people in Free India who must determine the future destiny of the country and of the Free State.

My own objective study and observation in different parts of the world for 18 months has led me to the irresistible conclusion that Britain will lose this war and that the British Empire will be completely dismembered. All the forces that are striving to destroy or weaken the British Empire are helping Indian emancipation while all forces that are endeavouring to save the British Empire are the forces that are attempting to perpetuate India's slavery.

It is a matter of profound gratification to all nationalists out side India that all nationalists inside India are united in the aim of India's Independence. We, who form Vanguard of the national army feel however that the time will soon come when it will be necessary to take up arms in the final stage of the struggle. And we also feel that since the British Empire is seeking help all over the world and is trying to flood India with foreign soldiers and foreign war material, it is the right and duty of the Indian nationalists to accept help that may be offered to

them. Given the right leadership and the necessary capacity, the Indian people will undoubtedly be able to overcome all obstacles and win their freedom. When the crucial moment arrives no body will be able to prevent my entering India again with a view to participate in the final struggle.

I am convinced that during the course of this war India will be free. India's liberation will mean the expulsion of Anglo-American Imperialism, the goal of the victorious Japanese Army. The freedom of India will also afford powerful stimulus to freedom movements all over the world.

I am glad to find that the branches of the Azad Hind Sang in Europe are doing their very best to participate in the national struggle and are preparing for the post war reconstruction that will follow. It is now time to link up Indian nationalists all over the world in one all-embracing organisation. I wish all success to your conference and I ardently hope and trust that it will prove to be a further mile stone in our march towards victory.

Inquilab Zindabad

Azad Hind Zindabad!"

The programme of this conference was settled as follows:

Programme for the opening session.
15th June, 1942, 9. a. m. I. P. M.

1. Indian National Anthem.

2. Silent prayer for the Martyrs of Indian Independence Movement.

3. Message from His Excellency the Premier of Thailand.

4. Address of welcome by Mr. D. N. Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

(Speech in Hindusanti, translation in English to be distributed.)

5. Election of President.

6. Opening address by President in English.

7. Reading of messages from Their Excellencies Primier General Hideki Tojo and Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo of Japan and from others.

8. Speeches: (a) Mr. A. M. Sahay (Hindustani)
(b) Mr. N. Raghavan (English)
(c) Captain Mohansingh (Hindustani)
(d) Col. N. S. Gill (English)

9. Addresses by their Excellencies the Ambassador of Nippon and Ministers of Italy and Germany.

10. Vote of thanks to guests—By Col. G. Q. Gilani (English).

Opening session Ends.

The following delegates were present at the Conference:

Delegates from Japan.

1. Mr. R. B. Bose.
2. Mr. A. M. Sahay.
3. Mr. D. S. Despande.
4. Mr. S. N. Sen.
5. Mr. Rajah Sherman.
6. Mr. V. Choklingam.
7. Mr. J. K. Parekh,
8. Mr. Ramsingh Rawal.
9. Mr. B. B. Gupta.
10. Mr. V. S. Supnekar.

Delegate from Manchukuo.

1. Mr. A. M. Nair.

Civil Delegates from Hongkong.

1. Mr. D. M. Khan.
2. Mr. P. A. Krishna.
3. Mr. H. M. Parwani,

Delegates from Burma

1. Mr. L. B. Lethia.
2. ,, N. K. Banerjee.
3. ,, J. S. Backle Balan.
4. ,, S. K. Chakravarthy.
5. ,, T. G. Desai.
6. ,, C. P. Mehta.
7. ,, Mohmed Jaffer,
8. ,, Prof. E. Now.
9. ,, M. Randeri.
10. ,, Mohamed Yakoob Khan.
11. ,, E. P. Pillai.
12. ,, Mohamed shaffei.
13. ,, Laschmansingh.
14. ,, Ahmed S. Girwala.
15. ,, Mohamed Sharifkhan.
16. ,, Abdul Satar.

Delegates from Borneo.

1. Mr. J. Lalchand.
2. ,, Krehelsingh.
3. ,, V. N. K. Pillai.
4. ,, K. K. Thangavelu Pillai.
5. ,, Jogindersingh Grohol.

Military Delegates from Hongkong.

1. Major Rahim Khan.

2. Captain Mohd. Iqbal,
3. „ Tarasing.
4. „ Ayasingh.

Delegates from Thailand.

1. Mr. Debnath Das. (Leader and Spokesman.)
2. Pandit Raghunath Shastri.
3. Mr. Sevak T. Mahtani.
4. Sardar Amarsingh.
5. „ Iswarsingh.
6. Mr. A. A. Rashid.
7. „ Ghuli Shah.
8. „ L. S. Pande.
9. „ M. Sivram (secretary of the delegation).
10. „ M. S. Ramsingh.
11. „ Magharsingh.
12. „ Lalita Misra.
13. „ Moulvi Akbar Ali.
14. „ Sripat Rai.
15. Dr. P. R. Pillay.

The speech delivered by H. E. V. Vishitr-vadakarn Deputy Minister of Foreign affairs (of Thailand) at the opening ceremony of the conference is given below:

Gentlemen of the Delegation,

I am glad to have the honour of opening this conference. In performing this pleasant duty, I bring to you a message from His Excellency the Prime Minister which I shall now read to you:-

In the name of the Thai people, I have much pleasure in welcoming this conference of Indian Delegates which has been arranged to take place here in Bangkok. My

pleasure in welcoming the conference being held in the capital of Thailand is due to two causes.

Firstly, the aim of this conference is to rid India of the yoke of tyranny and oppression under which she has been for long suffering, and to restore to India her liberty, so that India may rightly be a country for Indians. Since Thailand has been from time immemorial a land of the free, liberty is deeply rooted in the heart of the Thai people who cherish their independence more than their very life. The Thais therefore sympathise with and support all fellow men, whatever their race, who are striving to attain independence for their motherland. When I learnt that the aim of this conference was to establish the independence of India, I gave it my whole hearted support.

Secondly, Thais and Indians are deeply bound together in cultural ties. We Thais received the Doctrines of Buddhism and our knowledge of Arts and Science from India. Even the words we use in our daily speech and in our writings are many of them derived from India. During the period that India had to content with foreign and fell under the domination of a race alien in language and in culture, resulting in Indian culture being deprived of support and maintenance which in time brought on a gradual decay, Thailand undertook the duty of safeguarding Indian culture. If you visit our National Museum, you will find that we have preserved ancient relics and objects of Art of India in a better state and to a greater amount then those which are to be seen in the Indian museum at Calcutta. Indians who have come to reside in Thailand have been received all along in cordial spirit of friendship by the Thais. Thailand herself has taken up the study of

Pali and Sanskrit which are highly prized Indian cultures, in a greater extent than any other country in the world. I therefore, may safely say that Thais and Indians are bound together in culture in the closest of ties.

For the reasons stated above, I am happy to have the opportunity of extending my welcome to the conference for the liberation of India at this capital of Bangkok.

In sending my message for the opening of this conference I cannot refrain from expressing my respect for Swami Satyananda Puri, who was one of the prominent figures sharing in the great work of co-ordinating the cultural and spiritual relations between our two nations. I am unable to find words sufficiently appropriate to express my sorrow and sense of loss at his death. I am convinced that his pure soul will come and be present amongst you at this conference and will help the conference to achieve success in a satisfactory manner.

Gentlemen, now is an auspicious occasion in which all the Asiatic peoples may collaborate as one in the task of doing away with all the hardsdips we have suffered from the oppressive rule of alien races. It is therefore an opportunity for all the Asiatic peoples to unite their strength and hearts with Japan for the accomplishment of this important task. As India is the mother country of Religion, culture, arts and sciences, as she has been the world's teacher from ancient times, the light of India's soul has therefore never been extinguished, but will hence forth shine gloriously brighter, fanned by the unity, endeavour and perseverance of all of us.

I, therefore, pray to the protecting race of the Tripple Gem and all the sacred powers of the Universe

to guard and protect the Indian delegates assembled here, so that you all be endowed with good health united in spirit and strong in wisdom in order to carry out the work of this conference to the desired successful conclusion for the freedom and happiness of India and all the Asiatic peoples.

(Sd) Field Martial P. Pibulasongram
Prime Minister.

In addition to this message from His Excellency the Prime Minister which I have just read to you, I wish to add an expression of my own sincere hopes for the smooth progress of this conference and its final conclusion with the desired success. The auspicious moment has arrived. I have much pleasure, Gentlemen, in declaring the conference opened.

15th June 1942.

The following is the speech delivered by Mr. D. N. Das, the President of the Reception Committee of the Bangkok Conference. The Agenda of the conference began with this speech.

Comrades,

It is a great honour for me to welcome you all today. While doing so on behalf of the Indian Independence Conference and your thousand comrades of Thailand I wish to convey at the outset my heartfelt thanks to the peoples of Thailand and Japan who made it possible for all of us to meet and embrace one another, specially at this time when we need most. Words are poor carrier of the feelings of the inner heart but that being the only means to express on such cccasions I thank the authorities of Thailand and Japan for all the manifestation of their

sincere feelings in helping us serve the cause we stand for.

While embracing you, however my mind goes to him—the one who blessed with all the great heritage of Bharatvansha, carried the message of her cultural supremacy into this Land of the Yellow Robe. The confluence of his hand and heart became the meeting place of the giver and the given. Swami Satyananda Puri has lived with us, the one who is living in us, the one who has not cast the shadow of seperation even on departure, the one who has gone farther only to come nearer, is no more with us. We feel lonely to day and welcome you in his name, the name that spells truth and love.

We are deprived also of the services of our respected compatriots Giani Pritamsing, Captain Akramkhan and Nilkantha Aiyer. Today when we are assembled let us give homage to those martyrs who have left us only to leave behind a great legacy of love and freedom.

Friends, the land of our birth, Hindustan, is passing through a most crucial period in her history. The history of struggles for freedom that was confined into the prison walls has now spread all over and India's struggle for existence has now become the world's struggle. India who was for century and a helf lulled into a dosing whale of humanity by an arrogant imperialism, born of greed and robbery, has now become a mother of a conscious mass.

India's fateful hour has now struck as Deshbandhu Subhas Chandra Bose has told and every Indian must now make his decision—a decision that no Power on earth can undo. The immense sacrifices that our compatriots at home have made for the last seventy years since India's First struggle for freedom in 1857, to lift India from the dark

cell of degeneration are now in the heart of our hearts. We bow our heads down to those-the torch bearers of freedom who created for us a field on which all of us stand and see light amidst surrounding darkness. When the rest of the world was still living in awe of the roaring British Lion the unarmed youths of India were shedding their blood and thus proving that though India lost every thing, she has not lost her soul.

This is India's Spirit, the spirit that knows no fear, the spirit that steel cannot subdue, neither can fire subjugate. Today already a gigantic struggle for national emancipation is on in India. India, the fountain head of all struggles of India's liberty and life, is definitely today at the parting ways with Britain and those reactionary non-entities allied with it.

Friends, the awakening of India has a special significance to the world and a particular hope to humanity since India is a country with a mission, a nation with a power to cotribute to the cause of human welfare. In the conception of her nationalism when civilisation found its craddle on this quaint land, she has been led by one spirit-the spirit of contributing to the welfare of humanity.

It was this spirit, as Swamiji observed which moulded her national life and brought perfection to her individual self. It was this spirit that in the days of our death-like slumber kept aglow, even in the darkest days of her life the light of culture and civilization, the glimmer hope that one day she might stand erect before the world and raise with her unshaking hands the torch of truth and love she had lighted with flame of her life. It is because of this spirit that the hands that were stretched to choke her to

death succeeded only in rousing her to self-consciousness.

All Indian national organisations, therefore, to be living organism represent such creation, wide and integral embracing in fact the whole scheme and scope of national life. The central principle of all our national struggles, is physical transformation and to evolve collective body or entity—a nation within a nation with a definite culture, education, religion, and society, founded on that inner recollection, through progress of individual and collective purification so as to prepare a field of culture in the truth of unity, yet revealing every variety of India's self-expression and upbuilding a political and economic foundation, whose model is no exact prototype but the adoption of modern requirements of the ancient great principle native to her life and genius of India, An organisation to be an Indian organisation must be, therefore, a fountain spring of SADHANA or in other words becomes a sponteneons flow of the Realisation, Resignation and Service, India is intent to enjoy freedom only within the larger freedom of the world, Who lives, to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if India dies and who dies if India lives ?

Today we have to create this India. India may be a sub-continent but with all her varieties, basically India is a single country. India may be compared with a garland. A garland is composed of so many flowers, but all flowers are tied into one with a single string fastening them together. Take away one flower and it will lose its beauty, Such is India. And such are we when we embrace one another before we march with faith in men and God to do our duty towards our motherland. Let our service be complimentary to those that are rendered by our comrades-in-arms at home. Let us die so that India may live.

Comrades, you come from different places. Let us take ourselves as little rivulets as if springing up from different places only break ourselves into a river—a river that will break itself finally into the mighty ocean of India's Liberty and Life. On this most auspicious occassion let us pray with a craving heart like the Poet "where the mind is without fear and the head is held high." Let us cry out the prophetic fire like the Poet. "The injustice you dread is far more coward than you. So shatter the shackles of this imaginary fear and rally round the Mother—Mother India." Out of this vision of Viswakavi Rabindranath and the creation of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, has risen the Spirit of Modern India on whose forehead slavery has not put its mark, neither has fear cast its shadow.

We, their children, who meet today under the able guidance of Shri Rash Behari Bose, the pioneer of our movement for feedom in East Asia, must now make a decision—a decision that will accelerate the creation of a Free, Happy and United India—an India which the Poet visualised. The burden is ours. We have to carry it. The success is assured once we put faith in India.

We are grateful to those who have been showering on us sympathy and encouragement in helping us carry this burden. The spontaneous sympathy from far and near will ever remain as a true treasure.

We thank everyone of you.

Bande Matram.
Inquilab Zindabad.
Azad Hind Zindabad.

After that Mr. Rash Behari Bose delivered his presidential speech. In that he reviewed the activities of the Indians after Japan's series of Victories in the far East. This review is important from a historical point of view and hence it behoves us to take a note of it. The following is the full text of the speech:—

Allow me to express my sincere thanks for the great honour you have done me by calling upon me to occupy this chair and guide the deliberations of this historic conference. While greatly appreciating this expression of love and affection for me, I am not unaware of the fact that along with this honour what a great repsonsibility you have put on my shoulders by electing me the President of this conference. However, if I have obeyed your command and taken this chair inspite of my knowledge of the intricacies of problems that will come before this conference I have been prompted to do so by my great faith in your spirit of co-operation and your sincere desire to put your hands together and to come to useful decisions without wasting much of your time on unnecessary discussions and arguments. I am sure I can count upon your unreserved help and co-operation in successfully conducting the business of the conference.

As I stand here, my thought goes back to the unfortunate air accident last March, that claimed and left us without our valuable comrades...Swami Satyananda Puri and Gyani Pritamsinghji of Bangkok, and Captain Akram and Mr. Nilkanth Iyer of Malaya while they were flying to Tokyo to attend our Indian Independence Conference.

We can well realise the great loss to our cause at such an important period of our struggle and we all feel

it very deeply. However, brethren, let us take it as inevitable and pray for the peace of their souls. In our grim final struggle against British Imperialism, we shall have to offer great sacrifices. Many of us will have to lay down our lives before the world can see India free. It can be well said that these four comrades have given us the lead of which our compatriots in Thailand and Malaya can be well proud of.

During and since 1857, when we first revolted against British Imperialism in India, hundreds and thousands of our most respected and beloved compatriots have laid down their lives in their efforts to free our motherland. We cannot forget the fact that they have nourished the seeds of Swaraj with their blood, and it is the result of their supreme sacrifices that we today are so near our goal and can hope with confidence to achieve independence in the near future. The world knows only a part of the long list of those Indian Victims of Britsh Imperialism, Let us pay respects to the memory of those numberless known and unknown comrades. Today placed as we are we can do very little beyond that. But the time is fast approaching when in every city and town in India we shall find a worthy monument erected in their memory and we Indians will pay our homage to them and look upon them with pride.

Our homage is also due to those respected leaders and workers as well as the organisations that have in various ways made untiring efforts since 1857 to liberate our country from bondage, Their list is in no way small and in no way their contributions were negligible.

Let us pay our respects to that greatest living Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, who with his magic has roused the

Indian masses from the centuries long slumber and has created self-confidence in them. We can have no doubt that when the new and true history of India will be written Mahatma Gandhi's name will have to be mentioned as the saviour of India.

I do not want to take your time by going into the details regarding India's struggle for freedom since 1857. Suffice it to say that although the failure of our revolt of 1857 was a great blow to the nation and although a general depression had overwhelmed the country, our efforts to overthrow the British rule never ceased. Under the circumstances prevailing in those days, the activities had to be carried on underground and within a limited scope; and whenever, there was an opportunity offered, a revolt was attempted. After minor preparatory stages our first effort on a large scale was made when the war of 1914-1918 started. Our workers were active everywhere. The Indian army was prepared to join the revolt. A part of the Indian Army had actually revolted rather prematurely. We thought we were going to succeed. Unfortunately we did not meet with success on that occasion. Thousands of our compatriots had to pay the highest price of patriotism. Thousands were sent to Andamans and Mandalay and hundreds of them still remained rotting in prisons and concentration camps.

During that war of 1914-1918 the British had been partially successful in receiving India's co-operation by telling lies and making false promises. Our people were misled by the fine phraseologies of the shrewd British diplomats. They promised us freedom after the war, as they are doing even during the present war. But soon

after the conclusion of that war it was realised that the British not only did not mean to keep up their promises but definitely wanted to take away even that shadow of civil liberty that the Indians were having in pre-war days. When they protested against that, the response from the British side was in terms of bombs, bullets and machine-guns. Needless to mention that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar in April 1919 is still fresh in the memory of every one of us and the wound has not yet healed. It really cannot be healed until and unless we have completely destroyed the power that was responsible for the humiliation of our people.

Every tragedy, however, has a lesson and so had the tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh. The blood of more than thousand of those innocent martyrs, that included even our women and children, could not go without significant results. The great upheaval that swept India from one corner to the other and the great movement of Non-co-operation and Civil disobedience that has been carried on by the Indian National Congress since 1919, has wonderfully organised the masses of India for political struggle. It was undoubtedly the direct result of the massacres at Jallianwalla Bagh.

We all must bow our heads in reverence and be grateful to those brothers and sisters who by giving their lives at Jallianwalla Bagh have created a new life in India. As we know to-day, millions and millions in India are prepared and determined to suffer and sacrifice their all for the cause of their motherland. When in 1939 the war in Europe started, Britain again began to indulge in jugglery of words in order to secure Indian

co-operation and help; but to the great delight of us all to this very day the nationalist leaders in India have refused to be misled and have continued to resist all British efforts to drag India into war. Our respect goes to Mahatma Gandhi for the most admirable way he has led the nation clear of all dangers of being entangled in this war.

With this background in India the Greater East Asia war was declared on the 8th December, 1941. No matter in which part of the world he or she might be living, what might be his or her attitude towards Japan, I refuse to believe that there was a true Indian patriot who was not extremely delighted and gratified in the heart of hearts when the great news of the declaration of war by Japan against the Anglo-Saxon races reached his or her ears. I refuse to believe there is any true Indian patriot what ever be his or her career or conviction who might not have rejoiced as from day to day, the mighty Imperial Forces of Japan on land, sea and in the air went on administering crushing blows against their Imperialism in Asia, and the British Imperialist bases in these parts began to totter one after the other like houses of cards. For is there a man whose eyes can withhold joyous tears, when he sees before his eyes, the power of the greatest enemy of humanity and peace, the greatest aggressor of centuries being destroyed? Those of us who were destined to live and work in Japan had partial reasons to be overjoyed at this most welcome happenings.

We have been working in Japan for decades so that we can see Japan in a position to stand by the oppressed Asiatics and to liberate Asia. We were anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realise the great significance

of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interest of Japan herself as also for the rest of Asia, if not for the world as a whole, that the Octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. We all were fully convinced that Japan alone was in the position to take the honour. This was on the morning of that most auspicious day, the day of the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha. On that day we heard the most auspicious news of Japan's declaring war against our common enemy. We felt that our mission in Japan was fulfilled. We felt convinced that India's freedom was assured. Being in Japan for years and decades I knew well that Japan is not in the habit of talking and debating unnecessary and meaningless things. I knew well that she was not in the habit of taking any serious step unless she had fully weighed her strength and was convinced of her success. I therefore did not share the views of those who thought that due to her continued military activities in China she was too exhausted to challenge the mighty Anglo-Saxon, or the so called ABCD combined forces. I was one of those who had not the slightest doubt that the war in China was a prelude to the real war against powers who were actively responsible for the continued patricidal conflict between China and Japan. Happenings on the International chess board during past more than ten years have been suggesting that such a world-wide conflict was inevitable. It was apparent that the question of Indian freedom could be successfully solved only when Japan rose in arms against British Imperialism.

Now that Japan and Thailand have taken up arms against our common foe, The Joint efforts of our worthy

allies assure the doom of the British Empire and with it our complete victory is assured.

These effective efforts on different fronts to destory our common enemy bring us a reminder regarding our own duties and responsibilities in this common effort for our common cause. We must ask ourselves what we have done and what we are going to do to contribute to this great cause. Only praising Japan, Germany and Italy will not entitle us to the position for which we are craving. We must contribute our mite and must make the greatest sacrifice we can offer. Then alone can we command the respect and consideration of our worthy allies and then alone can we claim a place worthy of a great nation like ours in future International Assembly.

Realising this very important fact and our duty towards our Motherland at this important juncture, we in Tokyo promptly met on the 8th of December at the Raibow Grill and decided upon a programme of action. My compatriots formed a committee and asked me to lead the movement and I gladly agreed to abide by their decision. We at first undertook to consolidate Indian opinion in East Asia in favour of a definite fight from without. Meetings were held in different centres of Japan and resolutions were passed emphasising the solidarity of our compatriots, the great need of declaring independence of India by destroying British Imperialism, and expressing confidence in our work.

On the 26th December 1941, for the first time in the history of Indians in Japan, a conference of nearly fifty representatives of the Indian residents in Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama and Tokyo...all the four cities where Indians

reside...was held at a Railway Hotel at Tokyo to consider the problems. A resolution was passed calling upon the Indians to realise the gravity of the situation and the danger ahead of India. The resolution read as follows:-

Whereas the continued defeat of the British and their allies in Europe and Africa has sealed the fate of the British Imperialism in Europe:

Whereas the most decisive destruction of British sea and land forces by Japan in the East has given a death-blow to the power and prestige of British Imperialism in Asia:

Whereas the war is fast approaching the shores and borders of India-the British stronghold-Axis powers may be obliged to invade her in order to destroy the main source of British fighting strength:

Whereas such an invasion will bring unimaginable and extremely unusual hardships, miseries and sufferings to millions of innocent and helpless Indians in cities, towns and villages; and

Whereas the only way to avoid this most unhappy situation is to declare complete independence of India from British rule and to cut off all possible connections with British Imperialism in every possible way immediately-

The Indian nationalists residing in Japan assembled in this conference most seriously and earnestly appeal to the Indian National Congress and the people of India immediately to declare independence and to capture all power from the British in India: and to take immediate effective steps to stop each and every source of Indian aid to

British Imperialist war, and to declare on behalf of the people that India has no desire whatsoever to be involved in this conflict and has never been willing to help Britain."

Our representatives were sent to Shanghai and on 26th of January this year a huge gathering of the Indian residents of Shanghai was held in Young Men's Association hall when similar resolutions as passed in Tokyo were very enthusiastically passed and our movement was given unanimous support.

In the meantime we established contact with the military and civil high commands in Japan and began to impress upon them the necessity of helping India in her struggle for freedom, for the very achievement of the great object for which Japan has declared war against Britain and America. We made it clear to them that so long as British Imperialism in India continues Japan cannot expect a final victory in this war. At last we succeeded in prevailing upon them and General Tojo the Prime Minister of Japan, openly declared before the Imperial Diet that his Government was prepared to help us in our efforts to free our country from the long bondage. In his declaration before the Imperial Diet, at the fall of Singapore, he said:

"It is a golden opportunity for India having several thousand years of history and splendid cultural tradition, to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere. Japan expects that India will restore its proper status of India for the Indians and it will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission for-

getting her history and the tradition and continue as before to be beguiled by the Britsh cajolery and manipulation and act at their back and call, I cannot but feel that an opportunity for the renaissance of the Indian people would be forever lost.

The declaration offered us great encouragement and we felt convinced that India can safely hope to be free before the East Asia war comes to an end. Counting upon the promises of General Tojo, we established our headquarters at Sanno Hotel and started our activities and preparations in right earnest. We decided that a conference of the representatives of Indian organisations in various parts of East Asia should be held for exchanging views regarding our future move. With the help of the Military authorities, things were conveniently arranged and the representatives of our compatriots residinig in Malaya, Hongkong and Shanghai along with us of Tokyo, sat in conference for three days and arrived at certain decisions and framed preliminary constitution for the working and progress of our movement. Those friends from abroad who participated in Tokyo conference had occasions to come in contact with responsible members of the Japanese Army in Tokyo and to know more and more about the standing of our movement. Discussions at the Tokyo Conference were varied and we did our best to lay down a solid foundation upon which we could base our plan of action in future. We all know that the conference in Tokyo was held at a time when things were less settled than they are today. Friends from East Indies were not present. We were deprived of the valuable help and advice of our friends in Thailand owing to the unfortunate accident, Burma and

Andamans were still in the hands of our enemies. We, therefore, were unable to come to a decision that could be claimed to be representative of the views of our compatriots in East Asia as a whole.

We, therefore, decided to hold a larger and most representative conference at a later date when the decisions taken at Tokyo were to be ratified. This Assembly in which we are participating to day is the result of that decision.

The responsibility to convene this conference was placed upon my shoulders and I was asked to hold it in this city. I am sorry that the conference was delayed by a couple of weeks. We expected to arrive here earlier but owing to extraordinary period through which we are passing things could not always be done as expected and we have to adjust ourselves according to circumstances.

I know I have exhausted your patience by chronologizing the events and activities during the last more than six months. But, it was necessary to acquaint you with what has happend and how we have proceeded before we sit down to business and put our heads together to knock out far reaching decisions.

Friends, we all realise the gravity of the situation and also the fact that we are passing through the most important period of Indian history. I don't want to waste time on long speeches. We had enough of that during the last more than five decades. We really cannot afford to waste our time on meaningless talks and arguments. Those who really want to serve the Motherland connot have much time to talk. If we go on talking without coming to any concrete decision, time will not wait for us and we shall

be left only to shed tears at our past folly and it will be too late to mend things. I know there are knotty problems that will come before you for discussions and will need your most careful considerations. I know you will have to do a lot of thinking and face a lot of doubts from within before you can decide. But, if you come with a grim determination to thrash out a positive, concrete and actually useful plan you will be able to come to quick decisions. Let us all fully realise well that our downtrodden country cannot afford to lose this golden opportunity that comes only once in centuries. Our brothers and sisters have in hundreds of thousands laid down their lives and have suffered and sacrificed for more than a century so that our country may be once again free. Let us rise to the occasion and carry their efforts to success that the souls of martyrs in Heaven may find peace and be pleased. Let us rise and act so that Mahatma and our children in future may think of us with pride and respect us as members of a free nation.

I know many of you have come with doubts and suspicions regarding the ultimate fate of our country as the result of our activities. I assure you that I can well appreciate your feelings of uncertainty and your desire for security and yet I believe that they are based on false promises. Having bitterest experiences of Imperialist exploitations for centuries, we have begun to doubt even our good friends and if we insist on this attitude the world will go on and we shall be left behind to regret our indecision.

I want to sound a note of warning here. Our enemies have always been successful in keeping us divided and

creating false impressions in our minds on such occasions. On many occasions in the past we have missed opportunities to free our country by being victims of British propaganda of lies. I can only hope that we shall not repeat our folly. Our doubts and suspicions are to a great extent the results of shrewd and well thought plans of our enemies to sabotage our efforts. Those of us who have intelligence enough and who are not blind to facts and happenings can see the way clearly.

We should feel thankful to the Government of Japan, Germany, Thailand and Italy for their most friendly attitude they have been showing towards our cause.

We must be particularly thankful to Japan for the most encouraging and hopeful definite promise of help in our sacred cause.

Let us not forget the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he said:

"Success comes to those who dare and act It seldom goes to cowards."

I make an earnest appeal to you, all friends, to see that when you conclude your session you have the most practical and workable plan of action for India's freedom so that we can start our work right after the Conference and march ahead. We are fortunate enough to have the most valuable help of our Indian Army at disposal. They deserve our great respect for the great service they have already rendered to our cause by refusing to serve the enemies of India. But their greater service is still awaiting our decision. No one can doubt the bravery of our soldiers in a righteous cause. Our sympathy goes to the families and friends of these Indian soldiers who had erroneously

believed that they had been fighting for a right cause lost their lives in Europe and Asia. They have been misled by the same propaganda of lies by Britain that is responsible for the unfounded suspicion in the minds of so many of us. I bow my head to the bravery of our soldiers and we should have no doubt that with their whole hearted support we are going to win our final fight against British Imperialism. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and let us march hand in hand to success. Let us remember we have one invisible nation–India, one enemy–England and one Goal–complete Independence.

Bande Matram.

V

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE

The success of the Bangkok Conference exceeded all expectations. No body had imagined that it would result in such unity of purpose and action.

Subhash landed on the soil of the Far East, practically a year after the conclusion of the Bangkok conference. The year which had elapsed was a year of real grooming and essential perparation. This year saw many conflicts in the Independence League—conflicts which had their repercussion outside the League also. Japan on its part played one or two imperialist tricks. There were one or two occasions when the whole edifice was in real danger of tottering down. But Mr. Rash Behari Bose deserves the real credit of steering the Indian Independence League clear of all these whirlpools and all these rocks. Let us peep into the past and get to know Mr. Rash Behari Bose a little more.

If we describe Dadabhoy Navarojaji as the "Grand Old Man" of India, we should say that Mr. Rash Behari Bose was the "Grand Old Man" of the revolutionaries of the impatient younger generation. The revolutionaries used to call him by the loving name of "Rasuda". but before he again established his old relation of the grand—father with the men of the I. N. A, he had merged into oblivion. The present generation of India has practically forgotten him, though he had risen to the position of eminence and

leadership from the very simple beginning by sheer dint of labour. His service, amazing organising ability and efficiency did not deserve to be forgotten.

He was first arrested in 1912 in connection with the bomb-outrage on the then Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge. Thereafter he was in the forefront of all revolutionary activities. His name was very prominent in Delhi Conspiracy Case of 1914-15. His two colleagues, Mr. Avadh Behari Lal and Master Amichand were sentenced to be hanged in connection with Delhi Conspiracy Case. People began to wonder how the revolutionaries and that too Indian revolutionaries could show such unparalleled courage and heroism. None could imagine that they were capable of such a thing.

The Government did their best to lay their hands on the Dada-the grandfather of the revolutionaries. They offered a large reward for his arrest. His photographs were exhibited in all the public places, yet the C I. D. could never overtake him. Once when he was travelling to Punjab via Delhi in night train, he came-face to face with a Police officer who was known to him, but his cold courage carried him through the crisis. All the time the police officer remained seated beside him, he did not evince even a trace of agitation. He did not allow the expression on his face to change. At the next halt he calmly got down from the train and boarded another compartment. Thus he reached Amritsar. He was the guiding spirit behind the subversive activities going on at Benares and Lahore. In Amritsar also he came in touch with many revolutionaries. The Punjab Leader Kartarsing and the Bengal Leader Yatindra Babu were also working under his guidance.

It was the time when the first world war had flared up in Europe. Britain was involved in it. It seemed that a golden opportunity had presented itself to capture power for India. The day of 21st February was fixed for commencing the war of independence in India. On that day all the revolutionaries of India gathered together. Kartarsing, Shamindranath, Sohansing, Pingle and Nalini-all were there. They had decided to try to win over the Imperial Army Battalions kept at Delhi, Benares, Jubblepore, Meerut, Lahore, etc. and to incite them to treason. They had also secured the help of the Gadar Party. Then a hitch came. Many thought that because the day fixed was pretty far off, there was a danger of their plans leaking out. So they advanced the date to 15th February, but a man named Kripalsing gave the whole thing away and the projected plan of revolution failed.

The Dada had a big price on his head since the time of the Delhi Conspiracy Case. He was also considered to be the guiding spirit behind the Lahore Conspiracy. So the Punjab Government issued an additional reward of Rs. 2,500 for his arrest. The U P. Government thinking him to be connected with the Benares Conspiracy Case announced on their behalf that they would pay additional Rs. 2,500 to a man who would get him arrested. Thus anybody, who would have given Rasuda away would have got in all Rs. 12,500 in rewards. But the reward went a-begging. Many a time when his colleagues found them hard pressed for money, Rasuda used to say: "Why comrades you sell me off and you will get a lot of money to finance your activities" That was his standing joke.

The failure of the conspiracies one after the other

made Rasuda sit up and take notice. He wanted arms for organising and energising his revolutionary work. At last under pressure from friends he agreed to visit foreign countries and get arms and ammunition for India.

One day he went to Calcutta and in full day-light boarded the steamer bound for Japan. His heart ached as he left the shores of India, His grief was intense. After reaching Japan he made arrengments to send arms surreptitiously through China, but the scheme leaked out and the Britishers brought such a pressure on Japan that Rasuda had to leave Shanghai within five days. Affer his disappearance from Shanghai, nobody knows where he spent the succeeding eight years.

In Japan also the British Intelligence Agents were after him. During one crisis, he would not have been saved, had a Japanese officer not intervened. He, afterwards settled in Japan, married and had children also. One of his sons was named Bharat Chandra. His wife knew Bengali.

He showed us how a man can serve his own country even while staying away from it. In Japan he published a report about India, started a Monthly, named "Asian Review" and in one way or other tried to put the case of India before the world. He won the sympathy of the Japanese people by writing five books about India in Japanese language. Not only that but he translated Dr. Sunderland's memorable book "India in Bondage" into Japanese language. He was a regular correspondent on Indian affairs for many Japanese newspapers.

Years before, he had written in one of these newspapers:

" My whole outlook has changed. It has become all-embracing. India must get independence, because on that depends the regeneration of the whole world. Independence is not an end in itself. It is only a means. Its ultimate aim should be the destruction of imperialism and autocracy and the creation of a new and better world where everybody would be able to live happily. That is India's—and consequently mine—mission. Let it be your mission also."

Under the leadership of such a renowned revolutionary, the Bangkok Conference passed the following resolutions:—

RESOLUTIONS.

(Indian Independence Conference, Bangkok, June, 1942)

1. Whereas it is the objective of the War of Greater East Asia to destroy the British Imperialism in Asia, and whereas it gives an opportunity for India to realise her goal of complete Independence and whereas it is the belief of this Conference that a new and regenerated Asia of free nations is certain to arise as a result of this said War:

2. This Conference expresses its sincere gratification at the War policy of Japan and conveys to the Imperial Government its best wishes for the continued success of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.

3. This Conference conveys to all the powers fighting against British Imperialism its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success. This Conference places on record its sense of deep admiration for the most determined manner in which the Nationalist Leaders at home have been trying to refuse to be drawn in this War on the side of the British and their Allies, and for the frank and definite demand for the withdrawal of the British from India. In the opinion of this Conference, unless

the British withdraw from India and the Allied Forces cease to make use of India as a base for war operations and war preparations, unimaginable and innumerable sufferings will be the lot of the pepole of India.

4. Resolved that a Movement for achieving complete and immediate Independence of India be sponsored by this conference.

Object.

5. This Conference endorse the view of the Tokyo Conference held in March 1942 that complete independence of India free from any foreign control, domination, or interference of whatever nature shall be the object of this movement and is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived to take necessary steps for the attainment of that object.

Guiding Principles.

6. Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by this Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated below:–

(a) That Unity, Faith, Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.

(b) That India shall be considered One and indivisible.

(c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis and not on sectional, communal or religious basis.

(d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which can claim to represent the real interests of the people of India and, as such, be acknowledged as the only body representing India, this conference is of the opinion that the programme and plan of action of this movement must be so guided, controlled and directed as

to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress.

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India be only by the representatives of the people of India.

(f) That a joint Axis policy favourable towards India will be advantageous to India.

(g) That sympathy, cooperation and support of Japan is iuvaluable in securing the object of this movement namely Independence of India

7. Resolved that an organisation be started for carrying on the Indian Independence Movement and it shall be known as Indian Independence League.

8. Resolved that the Indian Independence League shall immediately prcceed to raise an army called the Indian National Army from among the Indian soldiers (combatants and non-combatants) and such civilians as may be afterwards recruited for military service in the cause of Indian Independence.

CONSTITUTION.

9. This Conference adopts the following constitution for the Indian Independence League Organisation:-

(i) The Indian Independence League shall consist of :

(a) Council of Action.

(b) A Committee of Representatives.

(c) Territorial Committees, and

(d) Local Branches.

(ii) (a) Local Branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed only at a public meeting of Indians in any locality who shall elect a committee and a President.

(b) Vacancy on such committee or in the office of the President may be filled up by the Committee.

(c) All Indians above the age of 18 shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with the rules of such Branch.

(d) No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the Territorial Committee, as constituted herein-after, accords and continues to accord to such Branch due recognition, provided however that all branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various territories mentioned in article (vi) hereof shall until and otherwise decide upon to be recognised by this Movement.

(iii) Representatives elected by the committees of Local Branches in each territory shall form a Territorial Committee and the Territorial Committee shall make such rules as it may consider necessary for the effective working of the movement within the territory.

(iv) The Territorial Committee in each territory shall guide, supervise and control the work of the movement within its territory and shall also elect representatives as constituted hereinafter.

(v) Territorial Committees and committees of Local Branches under them shall have power to make rules not inconsistent with the rules by the Committee of Representatives or in case of Local Branches by the Territorial Committees.

(vi) (a) A Committee of Representatives shall be constituted by civilian representatives elected by the Territorial Committees in the territories hereinbelow set out

and by representatives selected by the Indian National Army:

Japan and Manchukuo... ...	.....4.
Phillipines...	2
Thailand...	....,6
Malaya...	...14
Burma...	...21
Borneo and Celebes...	1
Hong Kong Canton & Macdo.	....,2
Othere parts of China, including Shanghai...	2
Indo-China	1
Java...	2
Sumatra...	....,1
Andamans	.....I.
	57
Indian National Army...	...33
	90

(b) The Council of action shall be at liberty to include In the above list of territories any other territory, and fix the number of representatives from such territory to the Committee of Representatives providing in that event, for increase in the Representatives from the Indian National Army, equal to two-thirds of the number fixed for such territory.

(vii) Every member of the Committee of Representatives shall sign the oath of secrecy in the prescribed form before he takes seat on the Committee.

(viii) The Committee of Representatives shall be responsible for the general policy and programme of the Indian

Independence Movement and its decision shall in every case be final and binding on each and every member of this movement.

(ix) The Committee of Representatives shall have power to alter, amend or rescind any previous decisions made by it, including any decision, arrived at in this conference.

(x) No meeting of the Committee of Representatives shall be valid unless two-thirds in number of the Members of the Committee are present (either in person or by proxy).

(xi) A Council of Action, consisting of a President and four members, of whom at least one half shall be from Indian National Army in East Asia, shall be appointed by the Delegates to this Conference. The first President shall be Sjt. Rash Behari Bose and the four members shall be:-

(1) Shri. N. Raghavan.
(2) Shri. K. P. K, Menon.
(3) Capt. Mohansingh,
(4) Col. G. Q. Gilani,

(xii) Any vacancy in the Council of Action caused by death, or resignation or otherwise of members, not exceeding two in number at a time, may be filled up by other membrs of the Council and in the event of more than two such vacancies, the Council of Action shall call a meeting of the committee of Representatives to fill such vacancies.

(xiii) The Council of Action shall be responsible for the carrying out ofthe policy and programme of work laid down by this conference and as may hereafter be laid

down by the Committee of Representatives and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by the Committee itself.

(xiv) For the proper and efficient carrying out of the work the Council of Action shall have power to create as many departments as are necessary and to appoint and dismiss administrative officers and staff whenever necessary.

(xv) The Council of Action shall have no power to alter or amend the policy laid down by this Conference without the sanction of the Committee of Representatives.

(xvi) The Council of Action may at any time summon a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to be held at such places as the Council may decide, provided that necessary facilities for travel to the Representatives and at least 14 days' notice of such meeting have been given to the Secretaries of the Territorial Committees and to the Head Quarters of the Indian National Army. On a requisition by 20 members (Representatives) hailing from more than one territory such a meeting shall be called by the Council of Action and the necessary notices and facilities for travel shall be given.

(xvii) The Council of Action shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories mentioned in Article (vi) and over the Indian National Army.

(xviii) The Council of Action shall cause to be kept a

register of all the territorial and local organisations and may remove there from the name of any such organisation and withhold or withdraw recognition of any such organisation.

(xix) The Council of Action shall have collective responsibility.

(xx) The allotment of Portfolios shall be amongst the members of the Council of Action and at the discretion of the President.

(xxi) The Headquarters of the Movement shall be at Bangkok or at such other place as may hereafter be decided upon by the Committee of Representatives or the Council of Action.

(xxii) The deliberations of the Committee of Representatives and the Council of Action shall be privileged and no action of disciplinary character be taken against any member in consequence thereof by any Branch or Territorial Committee or by the Indian National Army.

(xxiii) Changes in the constitution of the Indian Independence League may be made only by a vote to that effect by three-fourths of the members of the Committee of Representatives.

10. Resolved that a request be made to the Nippon Government that it may be pleased to place immediately all Indian soldiers in territories in East Asia under their control, at the disposal of this movement.

11. Resolved that the formation, command, control and organisation of the Indian National Army be in the hands of Indians themselves.

12. Resolved that it is the earnest desire of this Conference that the Indian National Army from its inception

be accorded the powers and status of a free National Army of an Independent India on a footing of equality with the armies of Japan and other friendly powers.

13. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be made use of only:–

(a) For operations against the British or other foreign powers in India.

(b) For the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence, and

(c) For such other purposes may assist the achievement of the object, viz. Independence of India.

14. Resolved that all officers and men of proposed Indian National Army shall be members of the Indian Independence League and shall owe allegiance to the League.

15. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be under the direct control of the Council of Action and that the said Army shall be organised and commanded by the General Officer, commanding the Indian National Army, in accordance with the directions of the Council of Action.

16. Resolved that in the event of military action being taken against the British or other foreign powers in India and for the said purpose the Council of Action may be at liberty to place the military resources available to it, under the unified command of Indian and Japanese Military Officers under the direction of the Council of Action.

17. Resolved that before taking any military action against the British or any other foreign power in India, the Council of Action will assure itself that such action is in conformity with the expressed or implied wishes of the Indian National Congress.

18. Resolved that the Council of Action shall make all efforts to create an atmosphere in India which would lead to a revolution in the Indian Army there and among the Indian people and that before taking military action, the Council of Action shall assure itself that such an atmosphere exists in India.

19. In view of the great urgency and imperative necessity of informing and convincing our countrymen in India and abroad and the friends of India all over the world, of the meaning and purpose of this Movement and in view of the fact that propaganda in and outside India is one of the most effective means of waging the war of Indian Independence, this Conference resolves to take immediate steps to carry on active and vigorous propaganda by Broadcasts, Leaflets, Lectures, and by such other means as may be found possible and practicable from time to time.

20. That all foreign assistance of whatever nature shall be only to the extent and of the type asked for by the Council of Action.

21 Resolved that for the purposes of financing the Independence Movement, the Council of Action be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

22 This Conference places on record its grateful appreciation of the support and encouragement given to this Movement by the Imperial Government of Japan and resolves that the Council of Action be authorised to approach if and when necessary, the said Government with a request to render such monetary help as may be required from time to time for the successful carrying out of the object of this Movement on the distinct understanding that

such monetary help is to be treated as a loan repayable to the Imperial Government of Japan by the National Government of India.

23 Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to provide all f cilities for Propaganda, Travel, Transport, and Communic ations within the area under the control of the Imperial Government of Japan in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action and also all facilities to come in to contact with the national leaders workers and organisations in India.

24. Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to arrange with the local authorities concerned that in matters of administration affecting the Indian community, the Indian Independence League in the respective places, and in place where there are no branches of the League, recognised Leaders of the community approved by the League Branch nearest to such places, be consulted.

25. Resolved that the Government of Thailand be requested to be good enough to consult the Independence League (formerly known as the Indian National Council and the Independence League of India) in matters of administration affecting the Indian community in Thailand.

26. This Conference while recording its grateful appreciation of the various pronouncements made by General Tojo, the Premier of Japan, expressing the preparedness of the Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence, reiterates the Resolution of the Tokyo Conference that in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Govern-

ment of Japan be good enough to make a formal declaration to the effect:–

(a) That immediately on the severance of India from British Empire, the Imperial Government of Japan shall respect the territorial integrity and recognise the full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence, control, or interference of political, military or economic nature.

(b) That the Imperial Government of Japan will exercise its influence with other powers and induce them to recognise the national independence and absolute sovereignty of India.

(c) That the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India without interference from any foreign authority.

27. Resolved that this Conference is committed to a definite policy of the closest co-operation with Japan and it shall, on eliciting an official definition satisfactory to this Movement of the terms "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and its implications, endeavour to persuade Independent India:–

(a) To be a member of such Sphere or of any other International Combination, of which Japan is a member on a footing of equality with Japan; and

(b) To confer on Japan the most favoured treatment on a reciprocal basis.

28. Whereas it has come to the knowledge of this Conference that Indians, in the territories which are now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their allies by the Imperial Forces of Japan, own considerable movable and immovable properties in these territories; and

Whereas, owing to the exigencies of war, a number of Indians had to leave those territories leaving behind their properties without making arrangement for their care and management; and,

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has promised its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence; and,

Whereas enormous amount of money is required to carry on and complete the object of the said Movement in East Asia; and,

Whereas an appreciably steady income is likely to be derived from the said properties in the said territories; and,

Whereas in the opinion of this Conference, the handing over of such properties to the Indian Independence League by the authorities concerned on the distinct understanding that the said properties are to be returned to their right owners when claimed, will be welcomed as a sign of good-will and encouragement towards this Movement, this conference resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to arrange with the authorities in the territories now freed from the domination of Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial forces of Japan to hand over the properties owned by the Indians (including those by the Indian Companies, Firms or Partnerships) and left behind by them owing to the exigencies of the war, to the Council of Action of this Movement in trust for their right owners to manage and control the said properties and advance the income thereof for the use of this Movement to be repaid as and when claimed by the said owners.

29. This Conference having learned with regret that the Indians in certain countries under the occupation of

the Imperial Forces of Japan are *being treated* as enemy aliens and suffer hardship and loss in consequence, resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to make a declaration to the effect:–

1. That Indians residing in the territories occupied by the Imperial Forces of Japan shall not be considered enemy nationals so long as they do not indulge in any action injurious to this Movement or hostile to the interest of Japan, and,

2. That the properties, both movable or immovable of these Indians, who are now residing in India or elsewhere (including the properties of Indian Companies, Firms or Partnerships) be not treated by Japan as enemy properties so long as the Management or control of such properties is vested in any person or persons residing in Japan or in any of the countries occupied by or under the control or influence of the Imperial Japanese Forces, and to instruct the authorities concerned in the respective territories to give effect to this policy as early as possible.

30. That this Movement adopts the present national flag of India and requests the Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Thailand and the Governments of all other friendly powers to recognise the said flag in all territories under their jurisdiction.

31. This Conference requests Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose to be kind enough to come to East Asia and appeals to the Imperial Government of Japan to use its good offices to obtain the necessary permission and conveniences from the Government of Germany to enable Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose to reach East Asia safe.

32. That no unauthorised publication be given to any of the resolutions adopted at this Conference, but a manifesto be issued by this Conference setting out the purpose and policy of this Movement and incorporating such decisions and details as may be found proper and beneficial to be made public.

33. This Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation assistance and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Japan.

34 This Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the people and Governments of Germany and Italy have adopted towards our struggle for freedom and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

35. This Conference places on record its grateful thanks to the Government and people of Thailand for the opportunity given to hold this Conference at Bangkok, for their kind hospitality, and for their sympathy and co-operation in India's struggle for freedom.

President,
Indian Independence League.

VI

CONFLICT WITH JAPAN.

Soon after the conclusion of the Bangkok Conference the countries of East Asia began to reverberate with the manifold activities of the Indian Independence League. In India also the cry of "Quit India" was gaining in strength every moment. The Bangkok Conference had met in June and in July. The Congress Working Committee passed the historic "Quit India" resolution. The activities of both these institutions had a totally different origin—Indians did not even know that Mr. Rash Behari Bose had started some activity in East Asia—yet providentially the two were merging into one.

The Indians residing in East Asia had no first hand knowledge of the activities going on in India, yet the countries of their adoption had not entered the war for a considerable time and hence they could get certain important scraps of information through Government channels; moreover, there were the wireless waves which none could sabotage. The Indian and British Governments used the medium of wireless to prove their good intentions and blacken the name of the Congress before the world and that also helped the Indians of the Eastern Countries in getting a correct picture of the conditions in the land of their birth. They were experts in sifting the wheat of truth from the chaff of British propagandist lies.

In India the Congress passed the August Resolution and it had an immediate effect not only in India but

on the whole world. That resolution sent a wave of enthusiasm throughout East Asia. Subhash Babu was thundering over the Berlin Radio at that time. This and other things considerably helped the tide of awakening that was sweeping the countries of East Asia.

Everywhere Branches of the Indian Independence League were being established. In a matter of days all the Indian centres of East Asia began working in complete unison.

In Malaya, the work of organising an Indian National Army from amongst the troops who had surrendered to the Japanese was going on apace. The direction of this was in the hands of Capt, Mohensingh and he in no time made the movement very popular. People began to show much enthusiasm about it and thousands of civilians enlisted themselves as members of the I. N. A. In a very short time, a considerable army sprang up and in September 1942 the Indian National Army officially came into being. It must be remembered that all this had happened before the appearance of Subhash in the far eastern arena.

The enthusissm of the civil population as well as the military personel was boundless. The training centres established by Indian Officers were overflowing with aspiring young enthusiasts, With the increase in the size of the army, the leaders of the I. N. A. began to think about new and novel plans of utilizing it.

But a matter of grave anxiety was still agitating their minds–in fact their anxiety was becoming more and more intense day by day. The leaders of Japanese army had nothing but praise for the Indians–civilians as well as soldiers–but their attitude and behaviour had begun to

show a change for worse. It seemed they did not want the Indian National Army to be organised on a vast scale. The Japanese had begun to errect barriers in the way of the Indian Independence League. They even used their power in doing this. One Military leader had tried to raise the bogey of communalism even !

The Indian patriots found it difficult to endure this. From the very beginning they had been entertaining doubts regarding the intentions of the Japanese and those doubts were being strengthened by this kind of attiude on the part of the Japanese. After the conclusion of the Bangkok Conference, further elucidation about certain points was asked from the Imperial Government of Japan but the Japanese Government did not care to reply for several months. Words of sympathy were heard everywhere, but they had not the stamp of official Authority. The Japanese Government had even preferred to remain silent—regarding the resolutions passed by the Bangkok Conference.

When a copy of these resolutions was officially sent to the Commander of the Japanese Army, the following answer expressing lip-sympathy was received by the President of the Indian Independence League.

Bangkok,
10th July, 2602.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose,
Chairman, The Indian Independence League,
BANGKOK.

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I have the honour to inform you that the Imperial Government is determined to extend whole-hearted and unstinted support, as evidenced in the repeated statements

made by Premier Tojo, and also in his recent message of fecilitation to the Bangkok Conference, in regard to, the request dated on June, the 22nd 1942, from the Indian Independence League to the Imperial Japanese Government with the object of attaining complete independence for India by supporting the Independence Movement in India and removing Anglo-American influences.

The Imperial Japanese Government agrees with your view to keep the resolutions of the Bangkok Conference secret, and it is also the wish of the Imperial Japanese Government that this reply will be kept under strict secrecy.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay my profound respect for your brave and strenuous efforts and earnestly wish you all the success in trying to shake off the yoke of despotism, which Britain has been imposing on your Fatherland,

Respectfully yours,
(Sd.) Colonel. H. Iwakuro,
Head of the Iwakuro Kikan,
The Imperial Japanese Army,

This letter could not satisfy the Working Committee—the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League. After protracted discussion the President sent the following answer to Colonel. H. Lwakuro:

Indian Independence League.
Syonan,
5th Septr. 1242.

Colonel H. Iwakuro,
Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan,
Syonan.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that your kind

communication dated, 10th July, 1942, was considered by the Council of the Indian Independence Movement and, while we appreciate deeply the promise of support and sympathy contained therein we feel it our duty to point out that the said communication does not,

(a) specifically reply to the requests contained in our letter, dated, 22nd June, 1942, and

(b) does not specifically clarify the attitude of the Imperial Government on the various points raised in the said letter and in the resolutions of the Bangkok Conference.

2. Your communication also does not indicate whether our said letter dated, 22nd June 1942, was referred to the Imperial Government and if so, whether any reply was received from the Imperial Government thereto. When we forwarded our letter dated, 22nd June, 1942, and the resolutions, we were already in possession of the declarations made by His Excellency Premier General Tojo and our intention was to have further clarification of the position of the Imperial Government on specific matters raised in the Resolutions.

3. We shall deem it great favour if a reply to the Resolutions and my letter to you, dated, 22nd June, 1942, could be obtained from the Imperial Government.

4. We thank you in anticipation,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) Rash Behari Bose,

President, Council of Action, Indian Independence League.

Inspite of this, no satisfactory reply was received.

At last the following letters were sent to the Premier General Tojo on the 29th November:

Indian Independence League.
Head Quarters,
Syonan. 29th November, 2602.

Colonel. H. Iwakuro,
Chief, Iwakuro Kikan,
Syonan,

Sir,

In further reverting to the enclosed (copy of the letter sent to you and subsequently withdrawn) we have again the honour to place before you the imperative necessity of receiving a formal assurance from the Imperial Government as to which portion of the Resolutions passed at the Bangkok Conference has been adopted without qualifications or change by the Imperial Government, which portion has not been approved, and which portion has received approval subject to alterations. We have had in the past few months certain reasons for anxieties and if we have to be true to the great trust that has been placed in us not only by you but by the Indian Public in East Asia, we cannot, remain any more without requesting you to be kind enough to forward the enclosed letter to the Imperial Government and vouchsafe to us a reply from them as requested.

In this our request, we fully hope that you, who have personally watched and understood our Movement, will accord to us your sympathy and support.

If a reply is forthcoming at the earliest possible opportunity, it will considerably facilitate the further work and progress of this Movement. Though this letter is being

sent to your formally, we shall, if so required, be pleased to wait on you at any time, and at a mututal conference have further discussions with your goodself. We hope, however, that you will be good enough to act upon this letter immediately as it is our considered opinion that a reply from the Imperial Government is urgently required for the work, which is now awaiting our attention.

Thanking you in anticipation,

We beg to remain

Sir.

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. B. Bose,

President, Council of Action,

Indian Independence League.

Indian Independence league.

Syonan, 29th November, 2

To

Colonel. H. Iwakuro,

Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan,

For favour of Transmission to the Imperial Government of Japan.

The Council of Action had a series of sitting recently when it took stock of the whole situation concerning the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and the development of the revolutionary struggle in India. The enormous increase in the number of members in the Independence League, the wide net-work of league organisations throughout East Asia, the tremendous enthusiasm seen everywhere for the cause which we stand for and the spirit of sacrifice manifested by all classes of Indians in East Asia have given us immense satisfaction in the pro-

gress of the Movement made possible by the help and co-operation of the Imperial Nipponese Government. The rapid march of revolutionary events in India resulting in the growing number of strikes, rebellions, sabotage and other mass actions have further raised our hopes and leave us in no doubt regarding the intentions and determination of our countrymen to overthrow British rule and to regain our independence at any cost. We have now reached a stage at which we feel that before we take any further forward move, it is necessary to clear matters, to understand our position perfectly and to cement Indo-Japanese friendship without which it is impossible for us to do any effective work for the attainment of our objective.

We are unfortunately so placed that we have not so far been able to contact with leaders in India and ascertain their views regarding our policy and our own plans. This makes our responsibility all the more sacred and onerous. The time would not be distant when we shall have to deal with a Provisional National Government in India and when that comes, we must be in a position to convince them that we have taken every possible step to maintain the safety dignity, and integrity of our country when once our goal of independence has been reached.

We have, therefore, after very careful consideration, come to the conclusion that it will be advantageous and in the interest of our Movement to request the Imperial Government of Japan to favour us with a reply at the earliest possible opportunity, clarifying the position on the following points:-

1. A copy of the Bangkok Resolutions has beer

forwarded to the Imperial Government so long ago as the 22nd July, 2602. Though we have been working on the basis that such resolutions would be accepted by the Imperial Government, we are not yet in a position to know exactly where we stand with regard to these resolutions. We do not want to conceal the fact that anonymous enquiries are still being made by many leading members of our community regarding these resolutions and we find it difficult and even embarrassing to give them a satisfactory reply. It is therefore of urgent importance to us to request the Imperial Geveronment to be good enough to inform us, formally and at the earliest possible opportunity, regarding the acceptance of the Bangkok Resolutions and if there is any resolution to which the Imperial Government cannot give their support, we shall be glad if they would kindly define their attitude towards the same.

2. Recognition of the Council of Action as the Supreme Executive of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and the acceptance of their status as such is absolutely necessary in order that the Council of Action may function efficiently.

3. The Imperial Government must no doubt be aware of the propaganda that is being carried on by the British Government in India regarding the intentions of Japan. Although we had some declarations from His Excellency Premier General Tojo and other leading statesmen of Japan to the effect that Japan has no political or military ambitions in India, we would respectfully suggest that a full, formal and solemn declaration binding on the present and future Government of Japan regarding the intentions of Japan to recognise and support the absolute inde-

pendence and full sovereignty of India immediately on the removal of British rule in India, is found essential to instill complete confidence and to place the Movement on an effective and proper footing.

4. As a corollary to the acceptance of the Bangkok Resolutions, it is necessary that the formation and existance of the Indian National Army on the principles laid down in the said resolution will be formally and publicly recognised and all facilities offered for its expansion with a view to make the army a strong and efficient one to carry out the great purpose for which it is intended.

We are conscious of and profoundly grateful to the Imperial Government of Japan for the great help they are rendering to Indians in connection with the Movement and with further support, which we have no doubt will be forthcoming, we shall be able to attain our goal of independence in the immediate future.

Dated this 29th day of November, 2602.

(Sd.) R. B. Bose,
President, Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

The Japanese Commander replied again showing his lip-sympathy and nothing more. On the other hand, the extent of Japanese interference began to increase every-day. They began to crop up at the training centres at all sorts of odd hours and began taking away Indian students along with them to their own camps without caring to ask anybody about it. One day a serious incident happened in the training centre conducted under the guidance of that brave and selfless President of the Malaya Branch of the Indian Independence League Mr. Raghavan, who was also

a member of the Council of Action of the said League and that made the conflict of the Indians with the Japanese more intense.

It so happened that some Japanese military officers went to the Swaraj Institute (Mr. Raghavan's Training Centre) one night and gathered together all the Indian students who were undergoing training there. From amongst these congregations, they selected some smart students and took them along to their own camps the same night.

They were not given an opportunity to meet or even inform their kith and kin. Afterwards it was known that these students were sent to India by a submarine for the purpose of propaganda–of course, in favour of Japan.

Mr. Raghavan came to know about this incident on the next day and he instantaneously sent a protest to the Japanese authorities saying that the Japanese had no right to touch the Indian students. He alsoe mphasised the fact that the students could not be sent out without his consent as well as the consent of their parents. Lastly he made it clear that he had not gathered the students together for the purpose of sending them out in a submarine to the hostile coast of India.

The quarrel between Mr. Raghavan and the Japanese authorities became acute and at last Mr. Raghavan closed down his institution and packed off each and every boy to his home. The Japanese authorities considered this step of Mr. Raghavan as an insult to their dignity and they interned Mr. Raghavan in his own home. They kept a military guard constantly over his house. Moreover, they instrıcted all the Japanese centres to keep an eye on the former students of Mr. Raghavan's institute.

......And the matters did not even end there. The Japanese authorities arrested certain Indian leaders under the pretext of subversive activities and espionage work on behalf of the enemy. The principal person amongst those arrested was Colonel Gill. Over and above that, the Japanese arranged to send a formation of Indian soldiers to Burma. This step had important and far-reaching repercussions.

There was a rift in the Council of Action and the atmosphere became surcharged with political heat. There was an emergent meeting of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, and it passed orders to the Indian Army sent to Burma not to obey the orders of the Japanese Commander. This created a very great conflict between the Japanese Commander and the Indian Independence League.

The Japanese plan was to dispatch the Indian Army by means of troop transports straight from Singapore to Chittagong. They intended to use this Army in an attack on Chittagong, which was to be mounted under the aegis of the Japanese. This plan was in direct contravention of the decisions taken by the Bangkok Conference.

The Indian Independence League ultimately came out victorious in this conflict, but before the quarrel could be amicably settled it dealt a severe blow to the unity of the Indian Independence League. The conflict with Japan resolved into a conflict amongst the Indians themselves.

VII

INTERNAL CONFLICTS

Now let us review in brief certain documentary evidence regarding the discussion that was going on in the Council of Action on the question of the conflict with Japan

The following are the minutes of a meeting of the Council of Action, which was convened on 4th December 1942.

President inquires of members of their attitude on the questions arising out of yesterday's discussions, Menon says they have considered the situation—he, Mohansingh and Gilani have decided to resign—says it is better whole Council should resign in a body. Tables draft letter of resignation.

President says he has decided that no troop movement should take place now, He takes the responsibility for this decision. Says with regard to Council's request to Colonel Iwakuro to forward the letter dated 29th November, 2602' he will take up the matter. Asks for time to deal with these questions, He hopes all outstanding questions would be solved satisfactorily by the end of next month. Requests Council Members that all work should be carried on, but assures there will be no movement of troops outside Malaya until questions solved. Requests Council to leave these questions to him for solution.

Raghavan says Council should take the stand that Bangkok Resolutions should be implemented.

On President's assurance that no movement of troops outside Malaya will take place and other questions will be taken up by him, draft letter of resignation is withdrawn.

Raghavan says President should write to G. O. C. that he has decided that there should be no movement of troops (I. N. A.) without Council's sanction or approval. G. O. C. should refer Iwakuro or Japanese authorities to deal with the Council of Action on questions of movement of troops.

Council agrees with this suggestion.

As to civilian volunteers already recruited in Malaya, Council reaffirms its previous decision that they should be taken into the I. N. A. forthwith. Council decides all questions of administration, finance, etc., regarding I. N. A. must go fisrt to the President and be dealt with by the Council of Action and that letter to that effect be sent by the President to Colonel Iwakuro.

Council adjourns till tomorrow 10 a. m.

Inspite of the above decision the position did not improve and the President of the Malaya branch of the Indian Independence League, who was also a responsible member of the Council of Action, sent the following letter of resignation to Mr. Rash Behari Bose.

Syonan,
4th December 2602.

My dear Mr. Bose,

Nearly six months ago when I, on your very active persuation and on the vote of the Delegates, consented to be a member of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence Movement of East Asia, I was foolish enough to imagine that my services might be found useful to

my country and countrymen. Since then my ambition has been to achieve unity among Indians, create Indo-Japanese friendship and achieve our independence from any foreign rule, interference or influence. I cannot but admit that as regards these aims my being on the Council of Action has been of litt e use or service. I worked for unity which I could have done even without being in the Council of Action.

I thought when I took over Office that I would be able along with my colleagues to be one of these who guided and directed the Great Movement. There also I was wrong. Within a short time of the Bangkok Conference the Indian National Army was organized without my having had any say in it. When I thought it was my duty to the country and to the Movement to claim a say in it, I was told that it was "forbidden grounds" and asked to leave it alone. So there also I was of no use.

It pains me to state that the unhappy position which we found ourselves in for the last two days has also been to a certain extent our own making, in that we were powerless to prevent mistaken steps in our Army. The first mistake that the Army Command committed was to have agreed to organize the Army and in fact organized the Army without sanction from or discussion with the Council of Action, by direct negotiation with the Iwakuro Kikan and before any reply to the Bangkok Resolutions was received from the Japanese Government. The second mistake that tha Army committed was to have arranged or agreed to the transport of troops into Burma without the prior sanction or knowledge of the Council of Action and again, before a reply to the Bangkok Resolution was obtained. The last mentioned act, done without thought and

consideration has now brought on us a good deal of trouble which we as a Council of Action has been unable to prevent. The request for obtaining transport has placed us in a very awkward and serious position – in fact between two sharp horns of a dilema. If we agree to the transport we are doing so before vital and outstanding questions have been solved and therefore placing ourselves in a much worse position. If we do not agree to the transport there will be (a) going behind the G O. C's word, and the Japanese side will consider it as OUR word, (b) serious estrangement between Japanese side and our side which will be a vital injury to Indo-Nipponese relations of the future which may bring within its train a lot of misunderstanding and unhappiness and wh ch I believe is not condusive to our Country s future interests and (c) the wrecking of the present Movement. Thus whatever side we turn it is a difficult one.

My presence on the Coucil of Action has not been able to prevent the above blunders and consequent deterioration of position. I feel that I am duty bound to resign my membership.

I, therefore, Mr. President, herewith submit to you my resignation as a member of the Council of Action. In doing so I thank you most sincerely for the affection and consideration with which you have always treated me while on the said Council.

I wish and pray for the complete success of the Indian Independence Movement under your patriotic leadership.

Yours in service,
(Sd.) N. Raghavan.

Next day, that is on the 5th of December 1942, the Council of Action met in the absence of Mr. Raghavan. The following is an account of the proceedings of that meeting.

Menon, Mohansingh and Gilani state that the position is just as unsatisfactory and after some discussion state that unless the following points are considered immediately they would resign:–

1. An assurance that Col. Iwakuro will forward the letter to Tokyo.
2. An assurance that a reply will be given on or before 1st January-Council to meet in the last week of December to consider the situation.
3. No major action would be taken regarding the I. N. A. Routine work of the Movement to be carried on in the meantime.
4. Practical action regarding the I. N. A. to be taken on the following points forthwith.
   (a) All surplus volunteers and prisoners of war to be placed under the Control of the G. O. C.
   (b) No major movement of personnel, of surplus volunteers and prisoners of war either inside or outside of Malaya should take place in the meantime.
   (c) All guards and detachments now working under the Japanese authorities must be under the Control of G. O. C.
   (d) Advance party in Burma should be informed that no further action should be taken until further orders from G. O. C.

After this Mr. Rash Behari Bose and Mr. Raghavan

had an interview with the head of the Japanese Government. The following is the account of that interview.

Report of the Meeting at Colonel Iwakuro's Bunglow on Saturday 7th December, 2602

PRESENT

Colonel Iwakuro. Shri Rash Behari Bose.
Major Fujiwara. Shri N. Raghavan.
Lt. Kunizuka, acted as an interpreter.

(Colonel Iwarkuro appeared to have known all that had happened yesterday and today in the Council of Action).

The atmosphere was cordial, though Major Fujiwara showed signs of being upset.

Colonel Iwakuro: What was the reason for the crisis today ?

Shri Raghavan: Reason for the crisis or the change from yesterday ?

Col. Iwakuro: Both.

Shri Raghavan: The reason for the crisis is because of various outstanding questions between the Indian side and the Japanese side. It is believed by all of us unanimously that outstanding questions of vital importance to the Movement have to be solved before any further move is made. All of us are unanimously agreed on this. It was only on arriving at such a decision that we parted yesterday. The reason for the change since yesterday is, however, not clear. It may be due to two reasons:

1. Because when the President announced that he had settled the transport question and said that he was making efforts to solve other matters, there was an indefiniteness about the last part,

and to make a move forward Mohansingh might have suggested certain definite terms.

2 Because after consideration of the past events, Mohansingh might have thought that there was no use continuing discussion as he might have come to the conclusion over night that negotiations might not be successful.

Col. Iwakuro: What past events ?

Shri Raghavan: You must have known about them. Mohansingh described to us quite a catalogue of happenings one after the other, in which representations were made to you without getting satisfaction in matters of importance, which made him think that the Japanese side did not trust the Indian side.

Col. Iwakuro: I admit there were mistakes on the Japanese side. But why do you say that the Japanese side distrusts the Indian side ?

Shri Raghavan: I do not say so. But Mohansingh might be justified in thinking so, if he does think so. for the following reasons among others:–

(a) When the question of expansion of the Indian National Army was suggested, you were putting it off, which led him to think that you did not trust him with a big army. It could be argued that if you were really serious about Indians fighting for their own independence, the request for expansion would have come from your side. You would have said: "Come along, Mohansingh. This 15000 will not do. Raise up 2,00,000 and we will be behind you." Your indifference if not actual obstruction in such expansion might have made him suspicious

of your intentions. This is but natural, and though we do not actually distrust you, we too are feeling keenly in the matter.

(b) There was the question of war prisoners. Is it not a fact that Major Fujiwara on 16th February handed over these prisoners to Mohansingh's control and subsequently the position worsened by the Japanese side taking control?

Major Fujiwara intervened: It is true, but my intention was that Mohansingh should create an Indian National Army out of them, and so, those who did not become members of the Indian National Army remained war prisoners.

Shri Raghavan; I do not doubt that statement. But those were not the terms of arrangement. The arrangement was that war prisoners were handed over and not members of the Indian National Army. There was no term that only if they were members of the Indian National Army, was Mohansingh to take control. (At this Col. Iwakuro came to the rescue and said that the Bangkok Resolutions had changed the position).

Shri Raghavan: Bangkok Resolution No. 10 confirmed the position.

Col. Iwakuro: You remember the conference you had with me? I mentioned that the resolution was difficult of performance as the Japanese side was using the prisoners.

Shri Raghavan: At the conference what I understood was that the control of the war prisoners would be on the Indian side and the Indian side would hand over to the Japanese side such prisoners as they were

using then as fatigue-parties, etc, and such as may be found necessary thereafter. The position is now reverse. The control is now with Japanese side and they are handing over such as are required by the Indian National Army.

Col. Iwakuro: There might have been some misunderstanding.

Major Fujiwara: It is impossible to hand over the prisoners. We are doing our best to infuse spirit in them.

Shri Raghavan: It may be impossible, but I was only trying to show that Mohansingh may be justified in thinking that the Japanese side distrusted the Indian side.

Col. Iwakuro: I think the change in Mohansingh was intentional and due to any one of these three reasons:

1. That he and closely associated with him in the Army are keen patriots, anti-Japanese and anti British, and hope to fight independently and win India's freedom without any assistance.
2. That he and others are subjected to the influence of pro-British and fifth column elements who want to wreck the Movement.
3. That Mohansingh is making a bid to be a Dictator.

Shri Raghavan: There need be no doubt that Mohansingh is a patriot and if he has any misgivings, it is because of his love for India and in order to safeguard her interests. It is not always that people know as to the best means of safeguarding such interests. Intentions are good. Methods may be considered unwise and imprudent.

Col. Iwakuro: Anyhow what do you propose to do in the circumstances to save the Movement from being wrecked ?

Shri Raghavan: If it is in any way possible, I appeal to you to give a satisfactory answer to the demand put forward.

Col. Iwakuro: It is an ultimatum.

Major Fujiwara: The Indian Independence Movement is not a free Government and we are not accustomed to receive ultimatums from political movements.

Shri Raghavan: The notes that were given to Lt. Kunizuka by the President were not intended to be communicated to you and that was why they were not clothed in polite language. They were merely notes meant for the President and not to be sent out. I appeal to you not to consider it as an ultimatum, though I admit it savours of one. But let no prestige stand between you and this Movement. If it is in any way possible to consider the points, we shall on our part endeavour to avoid such crisis in future.

Col. Iwakuro: How ?

Shri Raghavan: By taking direct control over the army. We have already written in saying that we were taking control of the finance and also have asked you to refer all matters of administration, etc, to us directly. The position today was perhaps the creation of the Japanese side. An Army was created with which the Council of Action had no direct touch. The Kikan itself was not dealing with the Council of Action regarding army affairs. We hope to change such features but we want time.

Major Fujiwara: It is not possible to agree to the terms asked for and if we show these demands to any other Japanese outside, there will be acute bitterness between

the Japanese side and the Indian side. How can any one guarantee a reply by the first of January ? And to have put a date is just like delivering an ultimatum and we resent to it.

Shri Raghavan : I am not supporting the date, but if substantialy the terms could be agreed upon, I ask you to agree. The only difference between Mohansingh and some of us is not in the substance of the demands bnt in the insistence of the acceptance of these demands immediately. We are all one as regards clarification of issues and safeguarding the interests of India.

Col. Iwakuro : It is not possible to agree to expansion of the army immediately. I have been trying my level best. While I was in the War Office, We tried to have an expansion by two divisions in Japan, i. e. by 30,000 men. Two Governments fell on that question. While we ourselves for our expension in our Army found it so difficult, is it a matter for distrust that there has been some difficulty and delay in the expansion of the Indian National Army ? From the Military point of view, it is not possible to have 15,000 today, another 15,000 to-morrow and another 15,000 the day after.

Major Fujiwara repeated the same.

Shri Raghavan: It may be, but all the same it is not possible to achieve Indian Independence by Indians if we did not have a much larger army.

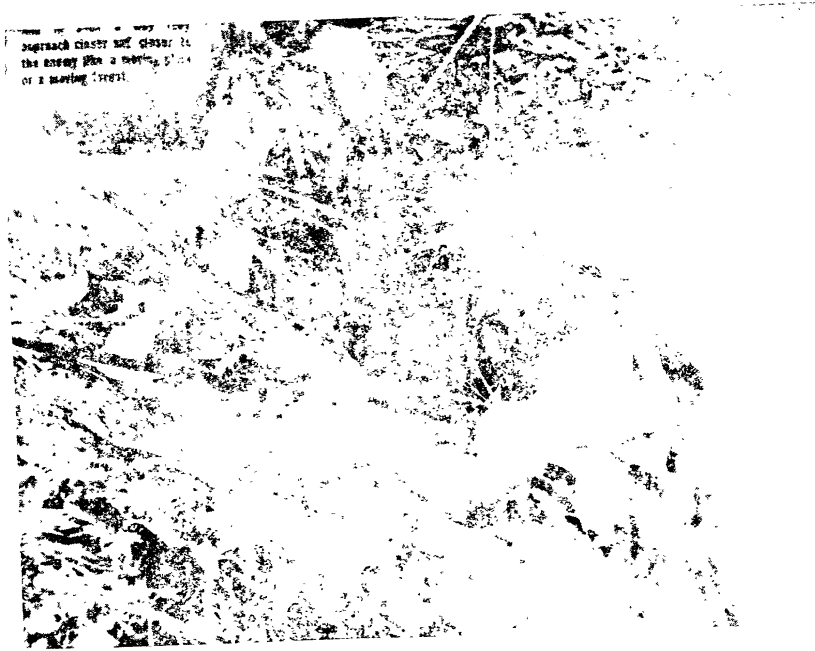
Maj. Fujiwara: Yes, but we have to intensify the strength and spirit of the Army that exists and not only that, you cannot create an efficient army out of defeated soldiers so quickly.



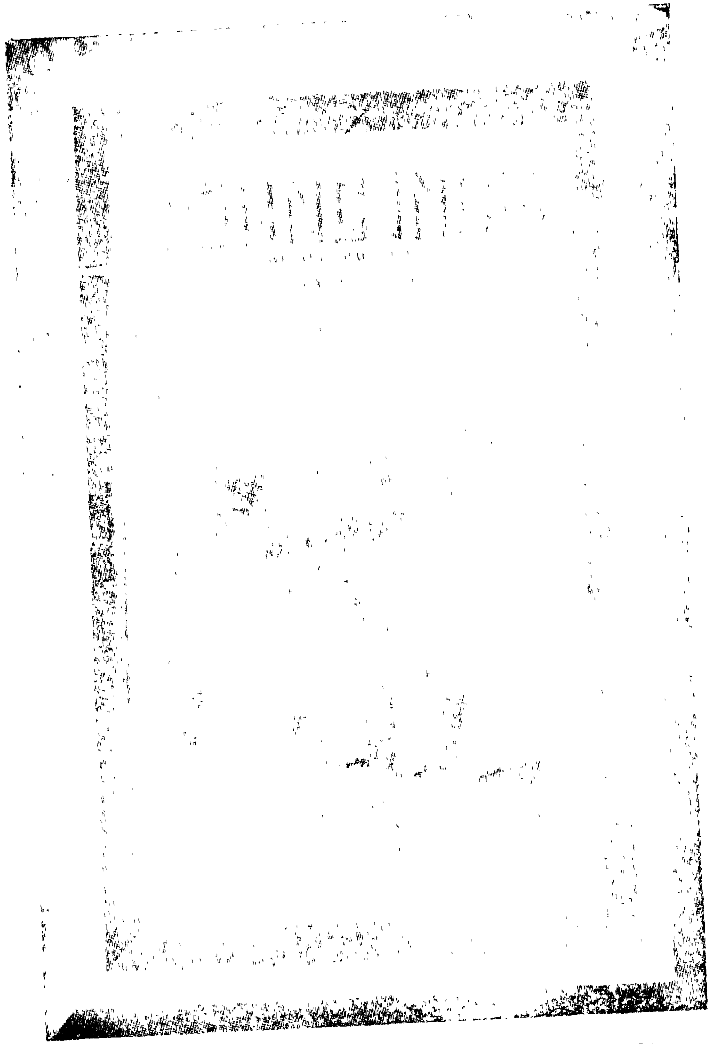
Civilians vied with the army in marching to the front



Netaji's Cabinet : To them was entrusted the work of running the Provisional Government of free India



The Jungles of Imphal were dotted with many such camouflaged I. N. A. fighters.



Another front page of "Young India" The occasion is Netaji's visit to the women's training centre

Shri Raghavan: But there are undefeated civilians by thousands and Mohansingh does not say that he should create his army only from defeated soldiers.

(No reply)

Maj. Fujiwara: Reply to Bangkok Resolutions cannot be given by Tokyo, because all affairs in connection with the Movement are left to the Commander-in-Chief of the southern Regions.

Shri Raghavan: How can that be ? This Movement is not confined to the Regions under the control of the commander-in-Chief of the Southern Regions.

Maj. Fujiwara: Yes, but the major portion of Indians live under his jurisdiction and therefore he handles this questicn. And moreover he has his head quarters in Syonan and the Army is here.

Shri Raghavan: Supposing the Indian Independence Movement Head quarter is at Tokyo and not at anv other place and supposing the Indian Independence Movement writes for clarification of views, will the questions still have to be addressed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Region ?

(At this stage, Col Iwakuro intervened)

Col Iwakuro: Why should Mohansingh feel even if Tokyo Government has not agreed to expansion immediately ? If a person asks for a 10,00,000 loan and is given that and subsequently asks for another million and the lender says, "I am sorry" because of certain difficulties that he himself has, does the borrower call the lender insincere ?

Shri. Raghavan: That is true. But all the same the borrower

if he wishes to succeed in his scheme should have the other one million also.

Col. Iwakuro: I agree, but it takes time. What is your opinion about the three reasons that I suggested regarding the change between yesterday and today ? Which is the correct reason ?

Shri. Raghavan: I cannot say. It may be one, two or three. or it may be some other reason.

Maj. Fujiwara: I have not been in touch with Mohansingh for many months now. I do not believe he is bad or wishes to wreck the Movement. He must be having bad advice or influences. There must be fifth columnists at work. We know that some of them have even gone through to India.

Shri Raghavan: Is that so ?

Maj. Fujiwara: We think strong action is necessary by you. The Army is not one Man's Army. It is the Council of Action's Army.

Shri Raghavan: Though legally it has been so, in effect it was not so. In any event strong action is not what is called for at present. Careful action is what is needed. And by taking strong action against any one, you will be only driving people to their side. Do not make martyrs of men unnecessarily.

Maj. Fujiwara: We have got definite evidence that there is a conspiracy at work. The scheme is to wreck the Army and to bring the Japanese and Indian civilians to a clash so that there would be unhappy relations between Indians and Japanese and there are definite fifth columnists at work to that effect. What shall we do with regard to spies ?

Shri Raghavan: What spies ?

Maj. Fujiwara: Spies in the Army. Shall we arrest them ?

Shri Raghavan: If you knew about the existence of spies, why did you not arrest them yesterday ? If you do it now, you will be making heroes of them. You have to watch and wait.

Maj. Fujiwara: But we have evidence.

Shri Raghavan: It may be, but many will think that it is "put up" evidence. Otherwise you had such evidence yesterday, why did you not arrest ? It is very bad tactics to arrest them now.

Maj. Fujiwara: The Indian side can arrest them.

Shri Raghavan: Yes. You can ask the G. O. C. Tell him that you have evidence against them and ask them to be taken into custody and, if the proofs are sufficient to be handed over to you.

Bose: Yes, we connot refuse that.

Maj. Fujiwara: But they have to be kept away from the Army.

Shri Raghavan: I again repeat that it is bad tactics to do anything against any person in the Army at the present time.

Maj. Fujiwara: We feel that resignation by the three of them at the present juncture should be averted because they might give out that they have fought the Japanese and resigned on that score.

Shri Raghavan: It is not only by three of them but by all the four of us because we have collective responsibility.

Maj. Fujiwara: Then who will carry on ? Are you going to wind up the Movement ?

Shri Raghavan: Not necessarily so. The President can take control and run the Movement pending another Conference at which a new Ccuncil of Action may be elected.

Maj. Fujiwara: How can we give a reply by tomorrow ? This looks like a child playing with fire. The interests of 400 million people have to be considered by you and even if this Movement collapses, Independence of India cannot suffer. This Movement must be saved at all costs. Indians here have a dual personality as workers for Indian Independence and as citizens of Japanese occupied territories, and we would all help in this Movement.

After some discussion in Japanese between Col. Iwakuro Major Fujiwara and Mr. Bose, Mr. Bose agreed that in order to have further discussions he would adjourn the meeting called for tomorrow to Monday. That was agreed to and the meeting dispersed.

After the above meeting Mr. Rash Behari Bose requested Mr. Raghavan to withdraw his resignation but his request was not accepted. Mr. Raghavan replied to Mr. Bose's request thus:

N. Raghavan.
37 Malcolm Road, Syonan.
8th December, 2602.

The President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League,
Syonan.

Dear Sir,

I sent you a letter tendering my resignation on 4th

December, 2602, which you wanted me to withdraw. I regret in the circumstances that have happened since then I am unable to withdraw my resignation. On the other hand considering the events that happened today, I would have resigned today if I had not already tendered my resignation to you.

Yours in service,

(Sd.) N. Raghavan,
Member,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

...And the matter did not end there. Three other members of the Council of Action also resigned in the wake of Mr. Raghavan. The following is a copy of the letter they sent to Mr. Bose, announcing their decision to resign.

Synon.
8th December, 2602

The President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

Sir,

We have been as you know, during the last few weeks engaged in carefully examining every aspect of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and after long deliberation we come to the conclusion that without clarification of the position on many points it would not be possible nor desirable to go on with our work.

It was with this object that we prepared a memorandum for consideration by the Imperial Government of Japan and sent same to Colonel Iwakuro on 29th November.

2602, with a request to forward it to Tokyo and get a reply at the earliest possible opportunity. On his invitation we met him and some other Japanese gentlemen at a conference on 1st December, 2601, when we further placed our difficulties and our point of view before them.

After a discussion lasting for over two and half hours, in the course of which Colonel Iwakuro clearly told us that he was not prepared to forward our memorandum to Tokyo, we returned greatly disappointed and dejected, and we informed him of it accordingly.

On the 5th instant, you assured us that you would try to induce Col. Iwakuro to reconsider his decision and wanted us to wait till you were in a position to report us the result of your attempts. Today you were good enough to inform us that your efforts have been unsuccessful so far.

We put our whole endeavour to preserve this Movement for the purpose for which it was started but we cannot deceive our selves and the public by pretending that things are going on well and smoothly when in fact we are thoroughly dissatisfied of the situation in which we find ourselves.

Therefore, we are of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by our continuing as Members of the Council of Action. We hope, that in spite of the present difficulties, it would be possible for us in the near future to resume our activities under more favourable conditions. But our duty at present is clear. We are not confident that we shall be able to serve the cause of Indian freedom in the manner and to the extent that we wanted to serve it if we go on like this.

The situation took a more serious turn this morning by the arrest of Colonel N. S. Gill, who is highly admired and respected by the members of the Indian National Army. It is well known that Col. Gill played a great and noble part not only in the creation and formation of the Indian National Army but also in popularizing the Independence Movement generally. At a time when his presence and assistance would have been a great use to us he has been abruptly taken away from us, and we cannot conceal the fact that this unfortunate incident has made a deep impression in our minds, as it has no doubt made in yours also.

It is very painful to us to cease our connection with a Movement which we patiently laboured to create and develop, but we shall be proving ourselves false to the great trust imposed on us by our people if we continue our association with this Movement under the circumstances in which we find ourselves today.

We, therefore, tender our resignation as Members of the Council of Action and we request you to accept the same.

While we sever our connection with this Movement as Members of the Council of Action, it is needless to say that we shall in our individual capacity always be prepared to give our wholehearted support and co-operation to the Military Administration of Malaya.

May we take this opportunity to thank you personally for the great courtesy and consideration that you have shown to us during the period that we have been working together.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,
Mohansingh.
G. Q. Gilani.
K. P. K. Menon.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose had no alternative left, but to accept the resigntion. He sent in the follwing reply to Mr. Raghavan.

Indian Independence League Headquarters.

Camp, Sea View Hotel,
Syonan, 9th December, 2602.

Dear Raghavan,

I am in receipt of your letter of resignation of yesterday's date. It is with deep regret that I have finally decided to accept your resignation as a Member of the Council of Action.

I was hoping that we will be able to tide over the present crisis which was developing in the last few days in spite of your best efforts to prevent it. I had, as you know, appealed to my other colleagues to give me time to take up the outstanding questions with the Japanese authorities and at the stage, I felt as you no doubt must have felt, that given some time, we would be able to solve the problems to our satisfaction and consistent with our national honour and self-respect. The resignations of General-Mohansingh, Colonel G. Q. Gilani and Shri. K. P. K. Menon. which were placed in my hands last evening left me with no other alternative but to carry on this Movement by myself as president of the Council of Action pending a reference to the Committee of Representatves. In taking this step, I feel that I have not only saved our

Movement from immediate and total wreck but also have taken the best course in the interest of our Motherland.

I hope that in the difficult days ahead, you will give me your valuable assistance and co-operation.

Yours in service,
(Sd.) R. B. Bose,
President,
Council of Action.
Indian Independence League.

He sent similar replies to Colonel Mohansing, Gilani and Mr. Menon also.

We get an idea of Mr. Rash Behari Bose's mental condition of the time, from a statement he issued soon after accepting the above-mentioned resignations. He had addressed that statement to the " Indian patriots of East Asia." The following is the text of that statement.

Statement.

To the Indian Patriots of East Asia,

My colleagues of the Council of Action have resigned. The constitution to that extent has broken down and, on behalf of the Indians in East Asia, I, as President, have decided to carry on, pending the election of other members which can be done according to our constitution only by the members of the Committee of Representatives from the various territories of East Asia. In exercising all the powers and duties of the Council of Action, which, consequent on the resignation of my colleagues, have vested in me, I believe I am interpreting the constitution of our Movement in the most politically sound way and thus respecting the mandate of the Indians of East Asia given to

me at the Conference held at Bangkok in June this year. I have, from 9th of December onwards, taken control of the Movement and I once again pledge to serve the cause of Indian Independence without fear and without favour, loyally and conscientiously and to the utmost of my ability. I shall endeavour my very best to interpret the conscience of our people and give effect to their wishes and dictates. I shall not, as far as humanly possible, allow anything, however powerful it may be, to come between us and our objective, namely, the absolute Independence of India, free from any foreign control, domination, interference or even influence of any nature. In taking over control, I know and fully believe, that what I have done to save the Movement for Indian Independence from collapse will meet with the approval of my countrymen wherever they may be.

As with many of my countrymen, the cause of Indian Independence has always been nearest to my heart. For that I laboured; courted death; courted exile. For full two decades, I had been striving my utmost to pave the way for the liberation of our Motherland. It was not only liberation from the British Yoke that I wanted but liberation from any yoke whatsoever. There was a time when even the people of Nippon among whom I lived, viewed the question of Indian Independence with indifference. But I strove on, and today I believe that we had succeeded in securing their sympathy and support—an international asset of no mean importance for any nation to have at the present juncture and for the future. We have secured the sympathy of other nations as well. It would have broken my heart if at this moment I had let this Movement die because of some of my colleagues took it into their heads that unless

on every point they had their way, they could not go on. On the other hand, I believe that if there are difficulties in the Movement, they can and shall be rectified. If there be even actual obstructions in your path it is my firm conviction that those should be removed and the way made clear for achieving our object, the much-longed-for and long-awaited Independence of Hindustan. The co-operation or otherwise of any Nation, however valuable it may be, is not a rock on which the ship of Indian Independence should founder. We shall fight our battles with such help if possible, but without it, if necessary.

The Indian Independence Movement was, as is well known, being carried on even prior to the war. But the declaration of war and of the Japanese attitude towards Indian Independence outlined in the statement of His Excellency Premier General Tojo made it possible to work this Movement in the various countries in East Asia openly and without hindrance. The Movement was started even prior to the Bangkok Conference. We have been carrying it on now for nearly a year. At Bangkok we were given by the delegates assembled there, a definite mandate to carry it on, and as a result of that mandate, more organisations, both civil and military, were established. We were making progress. Very recently my colleagues felt that some further clarification of our position was necessary for us to work the Movement. With that view I was in complete accord. Where some of us differed was contention that without such clarification—and that forthwith—the Movement could not and ought not to proceed. Thus arose a deadlock. In my negotiations for clarification which started immediately on our deciding in the third week of the last

month to secure such clarification. I found that some time was necessary to obtain results. I, therefore, advised the Council that we should give a little time, that having carried on the Movement all these months, it would not cause much harm, danger or hardship by carrying it on for a few weeks more in the same manner as we had been doing, and that if at the end of our negotiations we could not get satisfactory arrangements made, we were entitled to consider and change our policy if necessary. It required a little patience and a good deal of perseverence. I felt happy when after discussions amongst themselves on the 4th of December it was agreed that matters should be left for further negotiations and for report by the end of next month. On the 5th December, however, for no apparent reason, I was informed that some of my colleagues again changed their minds and the decision arrived at on the previous day was not to be acted upon. It was then that I realised there was more in the move than what appeared on the surface. Immediately on such realisation, I began to fight against the Move, against the creation of dead-lock, against the break-up of our Movement and disruption of our work. I pleaded with my colleagues not to resign and precipitate a crisis and a dead-lock, which would result in hardship, misunderstanding, and unhappiness and may ultimately damage our cause. I assured them that I was as jealous of our rights as they were. My stay in a foreign country has not made me any the less a patriot than other sons of India, but has only intensified my attachment and affection to my Motherland.

My colleagues resigned on the 8th of December. I have given deep consideration to their letters of resignation.

I am of the view that they should not have resigned without consulting the representatives from various countries in East Asia. I am of opinion that it was not necessary for them to have resigned at all, as some of them appeared to have done, for the solution of the matters raised by them.

But they are their own best judges, and so I have accepted their resignations with regret. Since I am confident that the Movement can be carried on for India's and India's benefit only and all outstanding questions solved to our satisfaction, I have taken up myself to continue the Movement with the support and co-operation of the Indians in East Asia. While on the one hand I shall be carrying on with our work, I shall, on the other hand, also spare no pains to negotiate and secure for the Movement every facility and support for which my colleagues and I have all the while been asking. At the earliest opportunity I shall be reporting to my countrymen the progress that I shall be making. In the meantime, the work will go on, and none on the civil side or the military side of the Movement need entertain the slightest fear. There shall be as little upsets as possible. The Movement shall be carried on as heretofore. I shall endeavour to put into it as we go along even deeper enthusiasm and more vigorous activity. I must assure every branch of the League and also the Indian National Army that my taking over on myself the rights, duties and responsibilities of the Council of Action need not in any manner mean changes in the constitution, organisation, or development of the nurse-nurture during the last few months. I guarantee them that I shall not be a party to any act

that will jeopardise their interests or the interests of our Motherland. These interests have always formed my sole objective in the work that I have undertaken myself.

I know I have the trust and confidence of my brothers and sisters in the arduous work ahead. If any opponents call me a puppet, let them do so. But let me assure them that they are sinning against a man whose only end and aim in life has been to see his country free, absolutely free and Independent, who is as proud of his birth-right as any Indian alive, and who has staked his all and who will stake the last drop of his blood in upholding the honour and integrity of Hindustan. I seek nothing from life except the success of our mission. If once it is accomplished, I shall retire into seclusion in some nook or corner of our beautiful Home-land. The full and complete Independence of Hindustan is our objective and let no differences, personal or otherwise, could obstruct the issue. I appeal to my countrymen to continue to render to me and to this Movement their generous support and co-opeation in abundant measure, without which nothing can be accomplished, but with which. I have complete confidence, we shall carry on our fight to its successful termination, the attainment of India's Independence.

LONG LIVE HINDUSTAN. VANDE MATRAM.

(Sd.) Rash Behari Bose,
President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

Syonan,
10th December. 2602

CHAPTER VIII

END OF THE CONFLICT.

With the passage of time, the conflict became more intense. General Mohansing and his colleagues lost all the respect which they entertained for Mr. Rash Behari Bose. They had come to believe that Mr. Rash Behari Bose wanted to organise "The Indian Independence League" and the "Indian National Army" only in consonance with Japan's wishes–to serve the interests of Japan. Mr. Rash Behari Bose was a tried leader. After the resignations, he decided to take upon himself the whole responsibility of the " League " and the " Army ". He believed that Japan, which was passing through a crisis could not afford to lose the friendship of India. In the circumstances, he wanted things to be thrashed out calmly. Many viewed this attitude of Mr. Bose with suspicion.

At the other end, the acute conditions created by War were becoming more acute. The Japanese printing machines were turning out currency notes by thousands. Inflation had reached an unthinkable level. Prices had increased ten-fold. The Indian Independence League came to the rescue of the Indians in their time of adversity. Had there been no Indian Independence League, thousands of Indians in East Asia would have died like flies.

Inspite of all this, the dissatisfaction against Japan remained unabated......if anything, it increased manifold.

......And who would say that the attitude of our Indian brethren there is not a matter of profound prid

for us all ? Japan till then looked invincible. It had great resources of arms and ammunition at its disposal. The circumstances were such that those who sided with the Japanese would get all the earthly advantages while those who dared to oppose them would be unceremoniously liquidated. Yet, from the first day of their contact with Japan, the Indian leaders of East Asia held their heads high. They declared publicly that they had their doubts regarding Japan's intentions. They demanded assurances from Japan during the two Conferences that were held at Tokyo and Bangkok. There was not a single occasion when they could be said to have shown weakness before Japan. Not once did they bend their heads before the Japanese Imperialists. If we scan the pages of the history of this war, nowhere do we come across—except of course, in Russia—such an example of devotion to national prestige and national self-respect.

But courage only was not enough. Circumstances demanded tactful handling. Japan's help was inevitably necessary to help India out of her bondage. Japan could undo everything if it so wished and smash the dream of the Indians to bits even before it took shape.

We must say to the credit of Mr. Rash Behari Bose that he rose to the occasion and his tact ultimately saved the situation. He was perturbed by the resignations of the members of the Council of Action but he did not lose heart. He continued his efforts to get definite assurances from the Japanese, in order to win over the confidence of the Indian population.

But his relations with General Mohansingh, who was appointed the first commanding officer of the Indian Nat-

ional Army continued to deteriorate. Once when Mr. Rash Behari Bose asked to arrange an interview with the officers of his camp. Gen. Mohansingh flatly refused. There is no need to record in detail the distressing correspondence that passed between the two on that occasion. Only a brief survey would be enough.

(Letter From President, Council of Acticn, I. I. L.)

To:
G. O. C.
Indian National Army,
Syonan.

Date 11th December, 2602.

I wish to meet the following Officers tomorrow at Sea View Hotel Room No. 135 at 11 a. m. Please make the necessary arrangements.

President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

(Letter from G.O.C. I.N.A. to Mr. Rash Behari Bose)

No. 2-M. S.
H. Q. I. N. A.
11 Dec. 2602.

To:
Mr. Rash Behari Bose,
Sea View Hotel,
Syonan.

Ref: Your letter dated 11 Dec. 2602.

I am sorry your letter is not clear to me on a num-

ber of points. I would request you to clarify the following.

(a) You have expressed a wish to meet all the Senior Officers of the I. N. A. However in your list you have omitted to mention the names of myself and Col. Gilani who happen to rank the senior most.

(b) It is not clear as to in what capacity you have called this meeting.

(c) The purpose of the meeting is not stated in the letter.

I shall await an answer from you before taking any measures.

(Sd) Mohansingh,
Gen.
G. O. C., Indian National Army.

(Letter From President, Council of Action, I. I. L.)

To:
G. O. C.,
Indian National Army
Syonan.

Date: 12th December, 2602.

As to your enquiry of yesterday's date with regard to memo asking you to send up the officers mentioned therein, my memo gives all the information that you are asking for and that I am prepared to give. If the officers concerned are not sent up by 11 a. m. as required, I shall consider my future action in the matter.

President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

(Copy of G. O. C.'S Letter Dated 12th DEC. 2602.)

No. 2-M. S.
H. Q. I. N. A.
12th Dec. 2602.

To:
Mr. Rash Behari Bose,
Sea View Hotel
Syonan.

With reference to your letter of even date, I would point out that you have not answered the enquiry that I made in my letter of the 11th instant. Will you kindly let me know under what provision of the constitution are you acting in the matter ? You will realise that there is no Council of Action existing now and you have no authority to act in the manner that you have done.

Sd. Mohansingh, Gen.,
G. O. C., Indian National Army

(Letter From President, Council of Action, I. I. L.)

To:
G. O. C.,
Indian National Army,
Syonan.

Date: 12th December, 2602.

I am in receipt of your letter of even date. I regret to note that you have thought it fit to question my authority. Your letter shows that you have done so under a mistaken view of my constitutional position and so I am not viewing the incident seriously. I would like to point out that according to clause (xi) of our Constitution the President is part of the Council of Action and not outside it. Until the vacancies created are filled up, I am also

the sole surviving member. As President and such sole surviving member, *all the power and duties of the Council of Action are vested in me. The portfolios* are also vested in me as *President.*

President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

To:
Mr. Rash Behari Bose,
Sea View Hotel,
Syonan.

No. 2-M. S.
H. Q. I. N. A.
13th December. 2602.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant. I maintain that with the resignation of the four members of the Coucil of Action you have no authority to assume any of the powers you claim in your letter.

In the preliminary conference held at Tokyo and again at the conference at Bangkok we were most anxious that no one individual should have dictatorial powers. We frustrated all attempts in this direction. The outcome of these conferences was the creation of a Council of Action and the limiting of the powers of the President to only giving effect in its decisions. You are now striving to invoke the constitution to do the very mischief that we took so many precautions to avoid.

We are also faced with a grave situation. All the members of the Council of Action save you have resigned. Rule 12 of the Constitution provides how the vacancies of the Council of Action should be filled up, and until such vacancies are filled up in the manner stated therein you cannot arbitrarily assume all the powers and functions of

the Council of Action. You may be the sole surviving member but you cannot act for the whole Council specially in view of Rule 19 of the constitution which lays down "the Council of Action shall have collective responsibility". If you do, you do it at your own risk.

It is apparent from your correspondence that you are not only totally ignorant of anything pertaining to an army but have some ... ... misguided notions about it. Let me put down a few facts concerning the Indian National Army which may help to clear your mind.

(a) The members of the Indian National Army are pledged to me and me alone by name and I am pledged to safeguard the honour and dignity of the I. N. A. We form one indivisible whole. It was raised and trained for an honourable cause; that of securing the unfettered independence of India and not to satisfy the passing whims and fancies of any particular individual.

(b) This army will only be a part of any movement if it is convinced that the movement is conducted in the interests of India. It has been found necessary under the circumstances in which the army was raised and trained to depart from normal practice and keep the officers informed of the trend of political events. They are fully aware of the position you have played and the manner in which you have played it. ... ...In case you have any false ideas about your popularity in the Army after the one or two occasions on which you have had the privilege to visit it, I am more than willing to afford you an opportunity to see their true feelings now.

(c) As already mentioned the I. N. A. has only one clear object. viz. to secure the independence of India. This cause is sacred to it and it is prepared to make any sacrifice, to fight any person or persons for the attainment of its goal.

The events of the last few weeks however have convinced us that, under the existing circumstances, we cannot usefully serve our motherland through the Independence League in East Asia and we have accordingly thought it fit to sever our connection with it.

I have had the opportunity to come across the false and malicious reports including your statement issued on the 10th instant "To the Indian patriots of East Asia" concerning our resignations. They constitute a deliberate attempt to misinform and mislead the public as to the true facts. The versions given are all of your own manufacture and one-sided. I am most anxious that the public should be acquainted with the true facts in order to ensure that their patriotism should not be exploited by unscrupulous people wishing to serve their own selfish ends.

I therefore challenge you to face the public at a meeting at which I shall take the opportunity to present the facts to them and let them decide the correct standpoint for themselves. If you do not call such a meeting forthwith I will be compelled to issue a statement placing all the facts before the public.

The above letter has not been written to contest or disprove the position you hold for yourself in your imagination. You, to me, have only been the sole surviving member of the defunct Council of Action since the resignation of the others. It is merely written as a courtesy and to avoid

future unnecessary instructions by you to the Army. Needless to say that if you still persist in writing anything it will not be answered.

(Sd.) Mohansingh, Gen.,
G. O. C., Indian National Army.

Along with General Mohansingh many others had resigned but their position was different. Mr. Raghavan was very popular. His popularity is reflected in the following resolutions that were passed unanimously at the meeting of the Malaya branch of the Indian Independence League, which was convened on 15th December.

(a) That the Movement should be continued and that complete support be given to Shri. Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action to carry on the Movement.

(b) That Shri. N. Raghavan should be continued as President of the Malaya Branch,

(c) That Shri. Rash Behari Bose be requested to try every possible means to secure a clarification of all matters relating to the Movement from the Tokyo Government by Declarations, Statement and otherwise at as early a date as possible, and

(d) That while the normal working of the Movement is to be carried on as usual, any further forward move should be decided only after such Declaration and Statement.

Japan began to make some nefarious diplomatic moves while these bickerings were going on amongst the Indians. It tried to create an organisation parallel to the Indian Indpendence League with the sole purpose of weakening the original institution. They even started intense

propaganda against the original Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army. This incensed the freedom-*loving Indian leaders. They, decided to press Mr. Rash Behari Bose for a final decision and accordingly an elaborate statement was prepared.*

On the other side the conflict with General Mohan-singh reached a climax. Even the Japanese Commander thought it fit to employ all possible means to bring pressure on Mr Rash Behari Bose. Many people in the Indian National Army began to believe that Mr. Bose had become a puppet of Japan, though that belief was short-lived. It must be remembered that General Mohansingh had employed all means at his command to discredit Mr. Bose. General Mohansingh honestly believed that Japan wanted to use the Indian Nationalist Forces for its own ends. Readers would recollect that the Japanese Commander himself had entrusted General Mohansingh with the task of organising the Indian National Army. Not only that but he had asked all the Indian soldiers to obey General Mohan-singh's orders. Perhaps, the Japanese commander must have thought that that strategem would win over General Mohansingh permanently as a puppet of the Japanese, but it was not to be and ultimately General Mohansingh turned out to be the greatest rebel against Japan.

General Mohansingh was convinced that sooner or later he would have to give up his post and be a prisoner in the hands of Japan. He had instructed the officers under his command that in the event of his arrest the Indian National Army was to be demobilised. He even had kept a written order to that effect in a sealed envelope.

At last the moment of General Mohansingh's arrest

came. He was arrested by the Japanese and the first Indian National Army was demobilised. It is said that Mr. Rash Behari Bose personally effected the arrest of General Mohansingh but no proof has yet come to light to substantiate this statement. Apparently his arrest was effected by the Japanese themselves.

After Mohansingh's arrest, the question of the soldiers of the I. N. A. began to agitate the minds of the Indian leaders. They did not know what to do with them. Some of the I. N. A. leaders were arrested by the Japanese but they did not touch a majority of them. The Japanese said that as long as the attitude of these I. N. A. men did not come directly in the way of war-efforts, their personal freedom would be secure.

In these circumstances other Indian leaders did not think it fit to resign from the Indian Independence League. They saw through the game of Japan. They knew that Japan very much wanted them to remove themselves from the field. That was why they decided to stick on to their post. At the same time they began to show a marked indifference towards Japan.

Right at that time. news was received that Subhash was leaving Germany for the Far East.

This news dispelled the feeling of disappointment that many had begun to entertain. The Japanese Commander also began to see light at last. The efforts of Mr. Rash Behari Bose to save the Indian Independence League by effecting a compromise with Japan began to bear fruit. Perhaps the news of Subhash's impending arrival was responsible for this change to a certain extent. Be that as it may, Mr. Rash Behari Bose was successful in persuad-

ing Japan to give certain assurance. The *following is the* text of the correspondence that passed between him and Japanese Commander. Mr. Bose's first letter was in the nature of a statement enunciating the principles under which the Indian Independence League was organised.

I. I. L. Headquarters,
Camp, 39 Malcolm Road,
Syonan. February, 6th. 2603

Colonel. H. Iwakuro,
Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan,
Syonan,
Sir,

I have the honour to state that, as the President of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, I have decided to reform the Indian National Army which was originally organised with your recognition and has been receiving your support and to clarify the real significance of organising this army and to promote friendly relationship between the Japanese and Indian Armies. I beg to submit herewith the following articles for your approval and consent:

1. The Indian National Army is an army of the Indian Independence League and is under the direct control of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League.

The Indian Independence League will assume the responsibility of safe-guarding the best interests of the Indian National Army and will request the Indian National Government when the Independence is achieved to keep this Indian National Army to form as nucleus of the future army of India.

2. The Indian Independence League is the only Political Organisation in East Asia and is organised and managed by Indians for the purpose of attaining the complete independence and establishing the full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence, control or domination.

The League's programme and its execution will be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress.

3. All Officers and men of the Indian National Army shall be members of the Indian Independence League and shall owe allegiance to the League.

4. The Indian National Army should be made use of only:

(i) For operations against British or other Foreign powers in India;

(ii) For the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence;

(iii) For the defence of the areas where the Indian National Army is stationed in the course of advance to India;

5. The Indian National Army shall be organised on a voluntary basis. Once enlisted, each member of the Indian National Army shall be governed by the Indian National Army Act to be framed by the Council of Action.

6. The table showing the different ranks of the Indian National Army is as in the Appendix.

7. The Indian National Army consists of the following units:–

(a) Head-Quarters, Indian National Army.

(b) Field Force Group.

(c) Guerilla Regiments.

(d) Special Service Group.

(e) Intelligence Group.

(f) Reinforcement Group.

Further expansion to the maximum extent of the Indian Man-power available shall be carried out as facilities are offered by the Japanese side.

8. The organisation of each Unit will be provided separately.

9. For the purpose of dealing with matters concerning the military administration and operations, a military department will be established by the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League. The staff of this department will consist of officers and men of the Indian National Army.

10. The status of the Indian National Army shall be deemed to be the same as that of armies of allied nations of Japan. Salutes and courtesies should be exchanged on a reciprocal basis to foster and strengthen good relationship between the two armies.

11. The Japanese side will give all possible assistance to the Indian National Army when requested by the Indian Independence League.

Awaiting myself of this opportunity, I beg to express my highest respect to your good self,

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) Rash Behari Bose,

President, Coucil of Action,

Indian Independence League

The following reply to the above letter was received from the Japanese Commander.

February. 6th. 2603.

Shri Rash Behari Bose,
President of the Council of Action,
Indian Independence League,
Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter dated, February 6th, 2603, and to note that you have decided to reform the Indian National Army which was originally organised with our recognition and has been receiving our support and to clarify the real significance of organising this army and to promote friendly relationship between the Japanese and Indian armies. you reqeust me to give approval and consent to the articles enumerated therein.

I hereby approve and consent to the understanding with the condition that "the Indian Independence League will be so guided and directed as to keep in line with the guiding of the Indian National Congress as long as it contrives to fight against the British and aims at the attainment of the complete independence of India"

I confirm here under the articles as enumerated in your letter.

(Articles 1 to 11 as in President's letter to Colonel Iwakuro).

I have the pleasure to take this opportunity to express my high esteem to you.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd) (In Japanese)......
The Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan.

CHAPTER IX

CLOUDS DISPERSE

Next day the following statement was published from the head quarters of the Iwakuro-Kikan.

...Your glorious Indian National Army has been established according to the resolutions of the Bangkok Conference as an Army belonging to the Indian Independence League in order to accomplish independence of India. I cannot but admire the level best with which you have been striving day and night to attain the sublime ideal for the sake of your mother country.

I feel extremely sorry about the present issue for the sake of Japan as well as India and I would like to appeal to your good judgement by reviewing the issue from the Japanese standpoint clarifying its real facts. First of all I must make a strong protest for the sake of Japan's honour against the wrong assumption that " Japan is going to control India in place of Britain". I as a representative of Japan declare hereby Japan's real intentions as follows::-

1. Japan has no territorial, political, military or economic ambitions at all towards India. Any assumption therefore, that Japan is going to control India by replacing Britain is nothing but a malicious enemy propaganda of Britain and America.

2. India should be a complete independent country as "India of Indians". Therefore the two nations, Indians and Japanese will stand on an equal status as friendly nations, on her attaining independeuce.

3. As the Indian Independence League is an organization of Indians themselves whose movement should be developed by keeping inseparable relations with the major current of the national movement within India, Japan has not the slightest intention of utilizing it as Japanese 5th Column. However, the Indian Independence League, being a political organization, recognized by Japan Thailand and China in their territories or occupied area, it is a matter of course that the activities of the organisation should be carried out in such a way that they will not infringe on the sovereignty of the respective country before its advancing into India.

But once it has advanced, it will receive no restriction or interference whatever from any country other than India.

4. The Indian National Army belonging to the Indian Indepenence League and it is by no means a private army belonging to an individual and Japan has no idea that the Indian National Army will be used for any purpose other than those provided in the resolutions of the Bangkok Conference.

5. Japan's aim of establishing peace in Asia and India's aim to secure her complete independence, both mean the driving out of the British from India. It is not therefore, motivated by any selfish ambition. The Japanese wish for India's complete independence is a natural expression of the Japanese National sentiment with which they have regarded India with respect and love for the past two thousand years. There is no intention on our side of demanding at present or in future from you any consideration whatsoever in exchange for our support.

Although the principles as above mentioned have several-

times been expressed by the Premier General Tojo in his statements and the Japan's real intention has been clearly explained, I am prepared to recommend to the Japanese Government to issue another official statement which may be more satisfactory to you at an early opportunity.

I am further prepared to request the Government *to formulate a concrete policy as to how to support the Indian Independence League and clearly indicate the contents of such policy.*

× × ×

It will serve some useful purpose, I believe to explain at this opportunity about some questions which otherwise, would lead Japan and India to estrangement.

1. On the itemized reply by the Japanese Government to the resolution of the Bangkok Conference.

Although I consider that your request for an itemized reply is reasonable, I regret to say that the Japanese Constitution does not permit the Government to issue a written reply in such a form as desired by the Indian Independence League, for the reason that the same is a mere political organization and cannot be regarded as a state. The Japanese Government however fully recognising the existence of the League and its Movement have issued a written reply promising general support, and instructed the Iwakuro Kikan to meet with the wishes of the Indian Independence League to the greatest possible extent. I am sure that you will readily admit that we have already done a great deal in this connection. It is my wish, therefore, that you will not regard our replies as similar to the empty promises of Britain.

2. On the Public Announcement of the I. N. A.

We have been refraining from making a public announcement about the existence of the I. N. A. simply because we thought a greater strategical effect could be gained if it is done simultaneously with the start of the Indian campaign. However, should the Indian Independence League prefers the present political effect to the strategical one, I shall not be reluctant to make a public announcement of its existence after the settlement of the present issue.

3. On The Handling Of The Indian Prisoners.

We cannot agree to the proposal to put the Indian prisoners under the supervisions of G. O. C. of the I. N. A. because of the rules and regulations of the Japanese Government, the manners and purposes of using prisoners shall be solely decided by the Japanese side according to the direction of its own.

4. On The Disarming Of The I. N. A.

The Japanese army has never attempted to the dissolution of the I. N. A. or its disarmament.

5. On The Insult Of The Officers And Men Of The I. N. A.

Regarding the assault and insult inflicted by the Japanese upon the officers and men of the I. N. A. we have already made an arrangement with all those concerned in order to guard against such happenings with full precaution and therefore in future the situation will be better. Should such things happen against we shall deal with each case on its merits in good faith.

With the above I have explained the attitude of the Japanese side towards the various questions which seem to

have been the cause of the present unfortunate situation.

With this statement I believe that you have now understood Japan's real intentions and will remain in the I. N. A. as hitherto and work for the progress of Indian Independence Movement.

Friends; I sincerely ask you for your calm and careful examination of the present issue lest you should be dependent, or you will disappoint your fellow countrymen who are courageously fighting at this moment the anti-British war in your country India.

After this the position improved a great deal. A new life was instilled into the work of the Indian Independence League. Mr. Rash Behari Bose felt that to prevent any such crisis recurring in future the constitution of the League required to be changed. He called a special session of the League on 27th April. It can truly be said that this session gave new life to the I. N. A. as well as the League itself. Mr. Rash Behari Bose delivered a long speech at the opening of this session. Below is reproduced the full text of the speech which dealt with contemporary activities of the League as well as the I. N. A.

Comrades and Countrymen,

It is with mingled feelings of joy and regret that we are meeting today to discuss ways and means for the liberation of our Motherland. That is the third time within a short period of one year that we are meeting for one and the same purpose. I used the words " feelings of joy and regret "-joy because our enemy is being consistently defeated by the Imperial Nippon forces and thus the British Chain of Imperialism which is strangling India is

being weakened daliy and our hopes of independence are brightening; regret, because the actions of some of my colleagues have marred temporarily the speedy progress of our Movement. But with the help of Almighty God all the difficulties have been overcome, the whole Movement has been rejuvenated and placed on a more solid ground than hitherto and I can assure you that if I continue to receive your full support and co-operation our success is at hand.

Before going any further I shall repeat my words of warning in the very opening chapter of my speech at the Bangkok Conference. I wish to reiterate the same words, as I hope that it will not be necessary for us to meet again before the liberation of India. I said thus: However, if I have obeyed your command and taken this chair in spite of my knowledge of the intricacies of the problems that may confront me I have been prompted to do so by my great faith in your spirit of co-operation and your sincere desire to put your heads together and to come to useful decisions without wasting much of your time on unnecessary discussions and arguments. I was prompted by the experience of the Tokyo Conference to give these words of warning but despite all that the result of the deliberations of the Bangkok Conference is well known to you. To remedy the shortcomings of the last Conference, it has been necessary for me to call you the representatives of different territories in East Asia and also the representatives of the Indian National Army. Let us put our heads together once again and work out a plan which should be very short and effective in our organisation and the progress of the Movement. It is a time for action and not words.

so you must avoid all lengthy arguments and jugglery of words. Before working out a plan you must remember two points (a) that Japan is at War and we can expect only what can conveniently be given to us because their needs are above ours and (b) we are preparing to get into action very soon, so the constitution should be as brief and simple as possible.

I do not wish to take up much of your time by reading out to you the history of the Indian Independence Movement but I would like to mention a few facts which should always be remembered by every Indian. The foundation of Indian Independence was laid in 1857 when the most ruthless policies of the British resulted in a catastrophic breakdown in the social and economic life of the Indians, and the dissatisfaction of the people against British domination finally reached the bursting point when almost the whole country revolted to oust the British from India. This battle for Indian Independence was described by the British as the Indian Mutiny. But was that a Mutiny ? I say No, It was a holy war against the inhuman treatment of Indians by the British. It failed because there was no capable leader to lead the movement to a success. Six thousand of our compatriots were hanged just because they were asking for their birthright. But since that day the seeds of Swaraj have deen nourished by the blood of thousands of our beloved and respected leaders. Just a few days ago mass meetings were held in all the territories in East Asia in memory of the martyrs of Jalianwallah Baug. Let us pay respect to the memory of all those numberless known and unknown comrades who laid down their lives in the

cause of their motherland. The time is fast approaching when in every city and town in India we shall find a worthy monument erected in their memory so that posterity will pay homage to them and look upon them with pride.

You know that great changes have taken place in and outside India since the Bangkok Conference last year and so it is essential that we should also speed up our activities to keep pace with the progress of world events. You all know that the "Quit India" resolution was passed by the Congress Committee in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi on 8th August last year, and immediately after the meeting of Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and all other leaders were imprisoned. It was then that the active struggle of unarmed people commenced against the armed forces of Britain. Thousands upon thousands have been thrown into prisons. Defenceless people have been shot dead and they are still being murdered daily. Villages have been bombed and machine-gunned and the properties of the innocent confiscated. But the war continues unabated and it will continue until India is free. It is therefore imperative that we should do our bit at this end to lighten the burden of our compatriots at home. Now is the time for action and not for talk. Our people are suffering under the tyrannical rule of the British in India and it is the duty of every Indian in the East to be ready to sacrifice his all when the call of his country comes.

Friends! The war of Greater East Asia is a gift from God for us Indians and every day which follows, looks brighter for Indians. Practically all the Far East has been cleared of the Anglo-Saxon races and their allies and it

will not be long before India will also rank among the Free Nations of the world. I have been working in Japan for decades so I can see that Japan is in a position to stand by the oppressed Asians and to liberate Asia. I was anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realise the great significance of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interests of Japan itself as also for the rest of Asia if not for the rest of the world as a whole, that the octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. I was fully convinced that Japan alone was in a position to take the honour, I knew well that she was not in the habit of taking any serious steps unless she had fully weighed her strength and was convinced of her success. The ultimate result of her action is well known to you all. Realising the full significance of the situation China joined hands with Japan and declared War on the Anti-Axis Powers. Japan on the other hand as a true friend took the lead and relinquished her extra territorial rights in China which was consequently followed by all other friendly nations. The dream of Dr. Sun Yet Sen, the Father of China has been realised through the help and co-operation of Japan.

Another important happening since the Bangkok Conference is the declaration made by His Excellency General Hideki Tojo the Premier of Japan, promising Burmese people their independence within this year. One cannot over-emphasise the good intention of Japan towards all Asiatic people and the case of Burma is an outstanding example of such intention. I take the liberty of congratulating my bretheren in Burma on this very auspicious occasion.

Let us not forget that the greatest living Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, undertook twentyone days' fast, partly to inspire the Indian masses to redouble their fight against the British and partly to disclose the most heinous of crimes committed by the inhuman British against the unarmed and defenceless people in India. To survive a fast of twentyone days in a prison at the age of 74 is in my mind no less than a miracle. Mahatmaji scored a great moral victory over the British. Let us pray that God may spare him long to lead us to success.

I am proud to say that the Indian National Army has been re-established on more solid and firm foundation and when the time comes your comrade-in-arms will fight to the last man in the cause of their country. They deserve our great respect for the service they have rendered but their greater service is still awaiting our decision. No one can doubt the bravery of our soldiers in a righteous fight for a righteous cause. Our sympathy goes to the families and friends of those Indian soldiers who erroneously believed that they were fighting for a right cause and lost their lives in Africa and Asia. They have been misled by the same propaganda of lies by the British which is responsible for the tinge of suspicion in the minds of so many of us.

I bow my head to the bravery of our soldiers and we should have no doubt that with their whole-hearted support we are going to win our final fight against British Imperialism. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and let us march hand to hand to success.

Another important activity of the League was the creation of the Bharat Youth Training Centre at Kuala Lumpur where almost a thousand civilians are being given advanced

training in the military art by the members of the Indian National Army. The existing camp is more on an experimental basis than a regular training camp. It is anticipated that when necessity arises for the training of the mass youth volunteers in East Asia for active service as part and parcel of the Indian National Army, the existing centre at Kuala Lumpur will be greatly extended and a few more centres will be opened to meet the requirements of the Army at convenient localities. Plans for such establishments are under way and it is expected to start the work in the near future. I hope Indians in East Asia will be ready to come forward as volunteers and will undergo the necessary military training under the capable hands of the members of the Indian National Army to make themselves fit to serve the cause of their country. I want to congratulate the youths now undergoing military training at Kuala Lumpur for their sense of sacrifice, patriotism and their love for their Motherland. I appeal to all able bodied Indians in East Asia to follow the example of these brave and true nationalists. You all know that youth is the cream of a nation and as such Indian youth is the cream of Mother India. I am very glad to say that I am greatly moved by their enthusiasm and resolute determination to make any sacrifice demanded of them for the victory of our battle for freedom. Youth has always played a great and noble part in all revolutionary movements. And in the great Indian Revolution it is the Youth of the Country that is playing a most significant role. Youth is impulsive, daring, resourceful, determined and ready for any sacrifice and it is to the Youth of India that Mother India looks for action–decisive action that will break the

shackles of British Imperialism. It is the self sacrificing courage of India's young freedom-fighters that has reduced the British power in India to sheer impotence. And it is the united effort of the youth of India that will bring victory and glory to our Motherland, It was thus imperative to create a youth section of the Indian Independence League all over East Asia. This important section is the nucleous of the Indian Independence Movement and is the main reservoir for supply of man-power for India's National Army. They will be the warriors of Indian Freedom and in this great battle before us there is no distinction between civilian and military. We are all Indians, we are all freedom-fighters and together we shall march to liberate our sacred Motherland. Azad school has been opened for the training of fifty young Indians and all those who are found fit after an extensive course of two months will be distributed as instructors for the training of the youths of the country. I congratulate all those who have been selected for training and welcome all others who are prepared to fight in the cause of Indian Freedom.

Last but not the least I would like to mention the creation of the women's section of the Indian Independence League. It is highly significant that our sisters are taking keen interest in this Movement and are prepared to make any sacrifice side by side with their Indian brothers in the cause of their Motherland. Freedom lies at the feet of a mother. Mothers make heroes. Mothers produce martyrs. It is through the encouragement of mothers that the youths of a country make sacrifice. Mothers are the backbone of a country's nationalism. They are the inspiration

of the masses and the encouragement of the desperate.

I appeal to you my friends who have come to participate in this Conference, to divorce all party-feelings, suspicions, and prejudices and make every effort, so that when you conclude your session you have a most effective and workable plan of action for Indian Freedom, so that we can start our work immediately after this Conference and march ahead. I hope you have realised the shortcomings of the last two Conferences and will keep aside all old and complicated ideas which are nothing more than mere obstacles in the progress of this revolutionary movement and will work out a simple and straightforward plan which will leave no room for future disturbance. This is a revolution and there is an international conflagration all round us and I know you will all agree, there is no time for discussion and argument. So I advise you once again to sit down and create something which will revolutionize the whole movement. The masses are itching for action but our existing constitution is so cumbersome and impracticable that we cannot move an inch. All plans should be made on the basis of self-sufficiency because this is our Movement and the major part of it should be workable by us.

In the name of four hundred million starving Indians for whom you have pledged to lay down your lives I appeal to you once again to create the atmosphere of brotherhood, to trust each-other and have mutual understanding for this common end of ours. Your plan of action should be such that, as far as possible only full time workers could be permitted to function-people who will be ready to make decisions day and night and from day to day.

people who should be ready to serve anywhere and in any capacity, people who will be ready to bear all personal inconveniences of sleeping on the ground, going without food, and travelling on foot or travelling by whatever conveyance available. Every League Branch should be so constructed and organised that every worker from the Chairman downward should, as far as possible be a full time self-sacrificing person who should be prepared to bear all hardships and should be prepared to work in the firing line when called upon to do so. Every League Official should try to undergo a complete course of military training. May God help you in your efforts.

Finally I thank the Japanese Government on behalf of Indians in East Asia for extending every facility and co-operation in every part of the occupied territories to my countrymen. But for Japan's whole-hearted support in the cause of Indian Freedom, it would not have been possible to achieve what has so far been achieved.

I also sincerely acknowledge the friendly attitude of all the allied Governments and their people and take this opportunity of thanking them for their co-operation and assistance in the cause of our Country's Freedom.

CHAPTER X

THE WAR-TIME CONSTITUTION

Subhash had reached Tokyo but his influence had not yet begun to be felt on the activities of East Asia. The guiding spirit of the Singapore Conference was Mr. Rash Behari Bose, but he was now feeling the weight of his years and the strenuous work of the last fifteen months had tired him out, Yet his morale and spirit had remained what they were. He was still the leader of the Indians of East Asia, and he had not forgotten the crisis that had unnerved him during the months immediately preceding.

A Conference of all the Indians, resident in East Asia, held at Syonan in April of 1943 (2603) passed the following constitution. It was a revised and enlarged edition of the constitution that was passed at the Bangkok conference.

According to that constitution all the powers were vested in the hands of the President. Thus Mr. Rash Behari Bose had cleared the way for Subhash. A free country cannot have such constitution but they were war-times and really speaking the constitution was a constitution of an Army.

RESOLUTIONS

Whereas it is the objective of the war of Greater East Asia to destroy for ever the British and American Imperialism in Asia and thus emancipate the Asiatic people from Anglo-American Yoke, and

Whereas it gives an opportunity for India as an Asiatic

country to realise the goal of Complete Independence, and

Whereas the representatives of the Indians in East Asia held conference at Tokyo and Bangkok in March and in June 1942 respectively and resolved that the object of the Indian Independence Movement shall be the complete independence of India free from any foreign control or interference of any nature whatsoever and

Whereas in confirmity with such resolution and for the carrying out of that objective a written constitution of the Indian Independence League was framed as a result of the resolutions passed there, and

Whereas the Indian Independence Movement has been organised all over East Asia in accordance with the resolutions passed at the above-said Conference; and

Whereas now the British Government in India has rejected the "Quit India" demand of the Indian Nation and has thrown Mahatma Gandhi and other revered leaders of India into prison and is pursuing an inhuman policy of mass murders and whole-sale arrests throughout India and is perpetuating such atrocities as the bombing and machine-gunning of innocent and defenceless population of India; and

Whereas the Anglo-American forces in India are deliberately using India as a base of operations in their war to perpetuate the Anglo-American exploitation of Asiatic Nations; and

Whereas the objective of the War of Greater East Asia cannot be achieved unless the Anglo-American forces of aggression in India are annihilated; and

Whereas this Conference of Indians in East Asia records

its profound conviction that a state of emergency exists and that therefore nothing short of direct and immediate military actian against the Anglo-American forces in India would help the Indion Nation to achieve its goal of complete independence of India.

This Conference therefore to meet the existing circumstances and in conformity with the wishes of the Indians in East Asia, passes the following resolutions to take the place of Bangkok resolutions of 1942.

1. That this Conference reaffirms that complets Independence of India free from any foreign coatrol or interference of any nature whatsoever is the object of this Indian Independence Movement, as it is that of the Indian National Camp and resolves that the Indian Independence Movement shall be guided by the principles indicated below:-

(a) That Unity, Faith, Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movment;

(b) The Movement should be carried out in a revolutionary manner including military action;

(c) That India be considered as one and indivisible;

(d) That all activities of the Movement be on a National Basis and not on Sectional Communal or Religious basis;

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India be only by the representatives of the Indians in India;

(f) That the sympathy co-operation and support of Japan is essential for securing the object of this Movement, namely the Independence of India.

2. That all officers and men of the Indian National Army shall owe allegiance to the Indian Independence League.

3. That all members of the Indian Independence League shall owe allegiance to the League.

4, That this Conference reiterates the true significance of the National Flag of India, the correct interpretation of the elements of the Flag being as follows:-

Saffron-Courage and Sacrifice.

White:-Peace and Truth.

Green:-Faith and Chivalry.

Charka:-Hope of the Masses.

5. That for the purpose of financing the Indian Independence Movement, the President, Indian Independence League, East Asia, be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

6. That the entire Indian Independence Movement be placed on a war-footing immediately and that the constitution of the Indian Independence League be so altered as to enable it to discharge its vital war-duties with the utmost speed and efficiency; and

7. That this Conference resolves that the written constitution of the Indian Independence League passed at a Conference in Bangkok of Indians in East Asia, in June 1942, be amended and that the written constitution approved and passed herein be adopted in its place.

8. That this Conference adopts the following constitution for the Indian Independence League organisation.

Constitution of the Indian Independence League.

(Passed at a Conference in Syonan of Indians in East Asia in April 1943 (2603) when the written constitution passed at a Conference in Bangkok of Indians in East Asia in June 1942(2602)was amended.)

(i) This Act may be cited as the constitution of the Indian Independence League in East Asia.

(ii) In this Act:-

"President" shall mean the present President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. Sjt. Rash Behari Bose or his successors.

" Chief Executive' shall mean the President.

"Head-quarters" shall mean the office of the President.

"Territories" shall include:-

(1) Japan and Manchu Kuo.
(2) Phillipines.
(3) Thailand.
(4) Malaya.
(5) Burma.
(6) Borneo and Celebes
(7) Hongkong, Canton. & Macao.
(8) Other parts of China in cluding Shanghai.
(9) Indo-China.
(10) Java.
(11) Sumatra.
(12) Andamans.

(iii) The Indian Independence League shall consists of:

(a) A Chief Executive (President);
(b) Council of Action;
(c) War Council;
(d) Territorial Committees, except as otherwise provided for in this Act.
(e) Local Branches.

(iv) Local Branches:

(a) Local Branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed at a public meeting of Indians in any locality, who shall elect a Committee. The President may nominate a Chairman from among the Committee Members.

(b) Vacancy or vacancies on such Committee or in the office of the Chairman shall be filled up by the Territorial Chairman with the approval of the President.

(c) All Indians above the age of 18 shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with the Rules framed from time to time by the Committee, subject to the approval of the President.

(d) No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the President accords and continues to accord to such Branch due recognition provided however, that all Branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various territories in East Asia shall, until and otherwise decided upon by the President, be recognised by the Indian Independence Movement.

(v) Territorial Committees;
Representatives elected by the Committees of the Local Branches in each territory shall form a Territorial Committee for the effective working of the Movement within the territory, subject to the approval of the President. The President shall nominate the Chairman of the Territoial Committee.

(vi) The Territorial Committee in each territory shall supervise and control the work of the Movement within its territory through its Chairman, subject to the approval of the President.

(vii) Whenever the Head-quarters is stationed in some part of a particular territory, the Territorial Commi-

ttee shall remain in obeyance in that territory and the Local Branches in such territory shall be under the direct control and supervision of the President.

(viii) Chief Executive (President):

The President shall be the Head of the Indian Independence League in East Asia and shall have powers to nominate his own successor. The successor or successors of the person nominated by the President shall be elected by the Council of Action and the War Council.

(ix) The President will formulate ways and means for the effective carrying out of the policy laid down at this Conference and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by this Conference and his decision shall in everycase be final and binding on each and every member of this Indian Independence Movement.

(x) For the proper and efficient carryng out of the work the President shall have power to create as many Departments as are necessary and expedient, and to appoint and dismiss administrative officers and staff whenever he deems fit to do so.

(xi) The President shall have power to alter, amend or rescind any previous decisions made by him including any decision arrived at in this Conference.

(xii) The President shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories and over the Indian National Army.

(xiii) The President shall decide the military policy in consultation with a War Council.

(xiv) War Council :

The War Council will consist of the President, Director of Military Bureau, the Army Commander, whenever available and one or more advisors nominated by the President as the exigencies of the situation may require.

(xv) Council of Action.

The President will nominate two or more members. The members and the President will constitute a Council of Action, whose function will be of an Advisory Nature and will give advice to the President as and when required.

(xvi) Head-quarters:

The Head-quarters of the Movement shall be at any such place as may be decided upon by the President from time to time.

9. That this Conference pays its humble homage to the countless Indian patriots who have laid down their lives in India's War of Independence in and out of India, and expresses its deep admiration for the heroic fight now waged by the Indians against Anglo-American Armies of Occupation in India at present.

10. That this Conference expresses its sincere gratification at the War policy of Nippon and conveys to the Imperial Government best wishes for the continued success of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces, and records its grateful appreciation of the various declarations and pronouncements made by His Excellency General Hideki Tojo, the Premier of Nippon expressing the preparedness of the Imperial Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of complete independence and full sovereignty of India.

11. Further this Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation, assistance and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Nippon.

12. That this Conference conveys to all the powers fighting against Britain and America its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success.

13. That this Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the Governments and people of Germany, Italy Thailand, China, Manchu Kuo and other friendly powers have adopted towards our struggle for freedom and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

14. This Conference offers hearty congratulations to the Burmese Nation, to whom the Imperial Government of Nippon has promised to grant Independence within this year.

XI

SIGNS OF NEW LIFE

Again the countries of East Asia began to reverbarate with the cry of Indian Independence. The activities of Indian Independence League were in evidence everywhere. Training centres were again started. Newspapers began to evince new interest and new spirit. The work of organising the Indian National Army was systematicaly started at nearly 50 centres. Innumerable periodicals were published to aid the organisers in their attempt.

Taking into consideration the experiences of the past Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the Head of the Indian Independence League prepared a plan and sent it to all the branches of the League. Here below is reproduced the important part of that plan which will give the reader some idea about the condition and preparations before the coming of Netaji.

"Owing to a series of "crises" and resignations, the general public has begun to entertain doubts regarding the Indian Independence Movement.

Our persent state of inaction, however, is due to certain weaknesses inherent in the organisation which has guided the Movement so far. We have to examine the background and the surrounding circumstances under which the old system came into being and I find these factors to be radically changed.

Whereas in June, 1942, India was pressing for Independence from the British, today she is fighting for it

against Britain, both morally and physically. It was to increase the physical pressure against the British war-effort that Mahatma Gandhi recently risked his very life.

The collapse of the British war-effort would have meant the retreat of the Anglo-American forces now in contact with the Japanese forces on the Indian Border. The extent to which the British forces return is the extent to which Japanese forces advance; and that contact cannot be broken till one side is defeated. What is obvious to us, is obvious to the Indian National Congress. The Congress has considered the consequences and made the choice.

The safeguards and assurances for which we asked in June 1942 are now not necessary. Our aim is only to convert the potential strength of the Congress into an actuality and help the Congress in proclaiming a National Government. The League is NOT a state but only the begetters of a state. The future constitution of India as the relation of the Indian National Government with Japan will be decided by the Congress itself.

In the past we have followed a system of collective responsibility and elections, similar to that adopted by the Congress in peacetime to wrest political control by a process of Evolution. Our object is Revolution.

In the past the resignation of a member or members has resulted in the dislocation of Vital Departments, civil or Military. This may be tolerated in peace time but never in time of War.

My immediate concern is to maintain the League as a fighting organisation, so that even if individuals indulge in a process of trial and error, the departments go on discharging their vital functions.

The following interim Plan has therefore been drawn up to put the League on a War-footing.

I. Guiding Principles

1. Freedom cannot be won by a universal longing for it.

2. The success of each Branch of the I. I. L. will be judged from the number of young men it can produce, educate and train as potential fighting men for the Independence of India, and Not from the numbers of Office bearers who can argue, or resign.

3. No Nation on earth holds a square foot of territory by any right of argument. The frontiers of a country are held by the human effort of the nation.

4. We must in the interests of the Nation, conserve that human effort by avoiding any action showing division or lack of solidarity.

II. Functions of the League Branches

The Indian Independence Movement is a people's Revolutionary Movement and Not literary Clubs or debating societies. The League Branches, therefore, have three main functions:

1. The Political Awakening of the Masses with a view to producing a body of the patriots with a revolutionary spirit.

2. To obtain the financial and moral support of all those who cannot take active part in the Movement.

3. To undertake due share of social uplift and relief work without getting involved in local Administrative problems.

To give concrete shape to item No. 1, a Youth Section will be started immediately on receipt of this Communication.

A women's section with its own President is to be started wherever practicable.

A Movement for boys and girls under 17 will also be started. In all National Schools Hindustani will be taught, patriotic songs will be sung and significance of daily saluting of National Flag will be taught. (Uniform same as Seva Samiti in India i. e. Boy Scout or Girl Guide Uniform with Tricolour Scarf).

The body of spirited young people so produced will help in the other two activities of the League.

III. Naujavan Section (Youth Section).

Object: To train Indian Youths in East Asia to:

1. Become revolutionary soldiers in the fight for India's Independence.
2. Behave as free citizens who with their example will foster the spirit of independence among the inhabitants of occupied territories.

It is suggested that where the Vice-presidents of the Local Branches are willing to serve the National cause actively they themselves may take over the Youth Section otherwise suitable young men will be appointed by the presidents concerned.

Syllabus: The following is issued as a guide. Time Tables and periods of training will, of course, very according to the facilities in each centre.

(i) Elementary Drill and Route Marches.

Weapon training, Rifle. Pistol. Grenade

(I. N. A. Japanese side have consented to provide staff to work at different centres.).

Relief Work: Nursing. Stretchers bearing. First Aid. A. R. P Hygeine.

Meetings: National and Social Dramas.
Bicycle trips to places 30 or 40 miles away. Cooking of own food.

(ii) Physical Training & Labour: Building of wooden Bridges, swimming, digging slit trenches, rowing, and games.

(iii) Education: Teaching of Hindustani.
Significance of the War of Greater East Asia.
Geography, topography, maps, with special reference to India.

Weak points in British War organisation and Civil administration in India.
History of British aggression in India.
Study of lives of Congress Leaders.
Study of Nippon-govt will be encouraged.

(iv) National Discipline: Obey before you command. Building of character, self reliance, right living, right thinking. Spiritual training, love for country. Ordinary Military discipline. Punctuality,

(v) National Culture: Common manners and customs. Amry salute. Common good, common dress, Khaki shorts or trousers, rubber shoes with shirts. Head dress, Khaki Gandhi cap with double fold. Tricolour rectangle 5 " x 2 " on the left arm.

Note: Women's and Boys' and Girls' sections will choose suitable subjects from the above syllabus.

Organisation: As the Youth Movement is the potential reserve for the Indian National Army, the League "Naujawan Sections" will adopt similar organisation.

Unit of 10 ... ... Section.
4 Sections ... ... Platoon.
4 Platoons ... ... Company.
5 Companies ... ... Battallion.
3 Battallions ... ... Regiment.
3 Regiments ... ... Formation.

For the present each Branch should aim at a maximum of one Company at the discretion of the Territorial President. The training will be the entire responsibility of the League Branch and should be carried out on the most economical lines, e. g. those who can afford should be encouraged to meet their own expenses. (The Naujawan Section is a popular Movement run on the lines of the Boy Scout Movement).

A tour of inspection will be arranged by this headquarters during the month of April.

Training Centres for Youth Workers.

In order to start a really strong youth movement a nucleus of trained workers is necessary.

An experimental school for training 50 such workers will be started at Syonan (Azad Institute Syonan) with effect from the 1st of April, 1943. The first course will last for two months at the end of which these trained workers will be available for posting to various centres.

An infiltration course for 100 young men from all territories will start on the 1st of May, 1943, at the Swaraj Institute, Penang. Duration three months. From among the present Graduates from the Swaraj Institute Penang, some will be selected by this Headquarters for immediate posting

as trained workers for the Youth Sections in various Branches.

The Burma Branch is running its own training centre at Rangoon on the lines of the Azad Institute Syonan. Military Staff has been borrowed from the Burma Detachment of the I. N. A.

Pocket Money: Pocket money at the rate of S. 800 will be given to all students at the Azad School, Syonan and the Swaraj Institute, Penang, as well as to the civil vounteers at the training school at Kuala Lumpur. Rations and uniforms will be free.

Military training: The main centre of civilian volunteers for the training as regular soldiers is at present at Kuala Lumpur.

Duration of Course: Four months.

1000 volunteers will be ready for absorption in the I. N. A. by the end of May.

Recruiting will be done through the Branches of the League from among their Youth Sections. The Malaya Branch can apply to this Headquarters for Medical Officers when required. The Burma and Thailand Branches can obtain assitance from the I. N. A. Detachment of Indian Army detachments stationed there.

In view of the limited training staff and the expenditure involved, NOT more than 5000 recruits can be trained at one time. If accommodation is available the Kuala Lumpur school will be expanced to accommodate these 5000. Otherwise more centres will be opened to accmmodate that number.

The following approximate numbers should be kept ready by the middle of May.

Thailand	1000
Burma	1000
Malaya	1000
Hong Kong & Shanghai...	1000
Borneo & Sumatra ...	1000
Java Philipines, Celebes...	1000
	6000

All Branches will please estimate and inform this Head-quarters of the number of recruits likely to be forthcoming from their territories during the year 1943.

Finance: The present scheme for actual Military training throughout East Asia for the next $1\frac{1}{4}$ year is for 20,000 volunteers to be trained in four batches Ultimate object is to train maximum number available in East Asia.

Syllabus:

1. Preliminary training with the object of becoming tough guerilla fighters:-
2. Drill. Physical training (P. T.) Route Marches, Weapons, (Rifle, Bayonet, Tommy Gun, Pistol, Bombs. and Hand grenades).
3. General spiritual training i. e. making them proud of themselves as Indians and determined to do all to achieve and maintain the freedom of their country.

Training Staff:

For a batch of 1000 volunteers the following are required.

Major	1
Captains	2
Subalterns	3
N. C. Os.	20
Sepoys	100
	126
Medical Officer	1
Asst. M. O.	1
Nursing Ord.	5
Clerks	5
Amb. N. C. O.	1
Total	139

These have been seconded for duty with the Volunteers by the Indian National Army.

Absorption in The I. N. A.

The I. N. A. consists of the following units:

(a) Headquarters, I. N. A.
(b) Guerilla Regiments
(c) Special Service Group
(d) Intelligence Group
(e) Reinforcement Group

} With their civil experience these volunteers will be more useful in these rather than in the Field Force Group.

(f) Field Force Group.

It is obvious that all cannot be absorbed in the I. N. A. owing to the limited number of arms now available. Some of the remainder will either go to other schools such as the Officers' Training School or the Civil Administration School (see below) or go back as fully trained instructors for training the youths in each territory in East Asia. The names of all trained personnel will be put on the list of reserve volunteers to be called up when required.

The system is analogous to the conscription system obtaining in other countries. See appendix No. 1

Other Activities Of The League.

It is proposed to start the following Institutions as soon as accommodation and staff is available.

1. Officers' Training School.

For the training of future officers of the Indian National Army. Vacancies will be allotted both to the Civilians being trained at Kuala Lumpur and to candidates from the Indian National Army.

2. Staff College.

For the higher training of senior officers of the I. N. A.

3. Civil Administration School.

For the political training of officers both civil and military. The civilians will be chosen from among students of the various training institutes. Special cases can be recommended by the Territorial Presidents.

Reorganisation of Headqearters. (See App 2) In order to cope with the immediate task in hand the following interim organisation of the headquarter came into force w. e. f. 1. 4. 43 when headquarters will be established at Road, Syonan.

PART III

CREATION OF A NEW WORLD

NETAJI KA FARMAM

(Composed by Col. G. S. Dhillon)

Utho soye Bharat ke nasibon ko jaga do
Azadi yun lete hain jawan le ke dikha do
Khoonkhar bano, sher mere Hind sipahi
Dushman ke safen tor do ek tehalka macha do
Kar yad shahidon ka lahu, desh ki khatir
Ek toli bhi, dushman ki hazaron se lara do
Tum qaumi sipahi ho, Adu chiz hi kya hai
Raste men ae bhai, use mar gira do
Ho bhookh ya Tokleef Rukavat ho Thakavat
Kha jakhm-e-geran hamko bhi Hans ker ke dikha do
Kyon Lal Qila yun rahe dushman ke hawale
Phir lashkare Hindi ki wahan dhum macha do
Minar Qutab dekhta hai rah tumhari
Chal uski bulandi ko tirange se saja do
Kuch aur tamanna hai na khwahis mere dil men
Azad watan Hind men "Jai Hind" bula do.

"CHALO DELHI"

[This poem was composed by Col. Dhillon when Netaji gave the slogan of "CHALO DELHI" to the Azad Hind Fauz and was printed in Azad Hind newspaper at Singapore.]

Chalo Delhi Jawano Hind ko azad karwaen
Chalo Delhi pe jhanda shan se apna lahraen
Chalo Delhi usi Delhi jahan hai raj Angrezi
Chalo Delhi pe Hindi raj apna phirse ham laen
Chalo Delhi, usi Delhi, jahan minar i Qutab hai
Chalo Delhi, Nishan i Hind ko ham us pe lahrean
Chalo Delhi, agar raste men lakhon mushkilen aen
Chalo Delhi pe apne khun se Tarikh likh jaen.
Chalo Delhi wahin sab bandh kar Jai Hind ham gaen

I

ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF EUROPE

When Sir Stafford Cripps bid good-bye to India on 20th April 1942 and when the Tokyo Conference of all Indians resident in East Asia had just concluded, the Voice of that Lion among men-Subhash Bose was thundering over the Berlin Radio. The friends and enemies of India knew that day that Subhash was not wandering alone and broken-hearted in the Himalayas but had bid adieu to the land of his birth and taken refuge in Germany so as to be able to free India from her 150 years-old British bondage.

Subhash said during his first broadcast over the German Radio:

"In spite of British propaganda it should be clear to all right-thinking Indians that in this wide world India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India, British Imperialism......

"I am not an apologist of the Tripartite Powers; that is not my job. My concern is with India......When British Imperialism is defeated, India will get her freedom. If on the other hand, British Imperialism should somehow win the war, then India's slavery would be perpetuated for ever. India is therefore presented with the choice between freedom and slavery. She must make her choice......

"Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me

an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life is one long persistent uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism and is the best guarantee of my bonafides.........All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live.........

" If you make a dispassionate and objective study of different theatres of war to day, you will come to the same conclusion as myself—that nothing on earth can prevent the rapid collapse of the British Empire.........Already the outposts in the Indian Ocean have passed out of the hands of British seapower......Mandalay has fallen and Allied troops are practically expelled from Burmese soil.

" Countrymen, when the British Empire is disappearing, the day of India's deliverance approaches. I want to remind you that in the year 1857 began India's first War of Independence. In May 1942 has begun her last War of Independence. Gird up your loins. The hour of India's salvation is at hand.

" Azad Hind ! To fight and win India's liberty and then build up in India, with full freedom to determine her own future--with no interference ! Free India will have a social order based on the eternal principles of Justice, Equality and Fraternity "

The fire-works that began on the Berlin Radio continued unabated. We have already seen how Subhash Babu reached Berlin. It Seems he was well received there. We have no means at our disposal to know whether Subhash had changed his ideas about Russia, but one thing is

certain and that is that his ideas about Germany had undergone a considerable change. This is apparent from the various things he did after reaching Germany. We have reviewed in detail in the second part of this book the various activities going on in East Asia. At that time two external elements were mainly responsible for giving encouragement and inspiration to the Indians residing in East Asia. One of these was the final struggle which had been launched in India—the "Quit India" struggle and the other was Subhash Babu's escape from the land of his birth. Subhash Babu never rested even for a day after leaving India. The circumstances were such that Herr Hitler would have found it to his advantage to welcome Subhash in Germany. Hitler could not possibly include India in his ambitious scheme and it would not be surprising if he really meant to give support to Subhash Babu. Britian was Germany's enemy and India was the main—stay of Britian's power. If Subhash Babu's efforts could bring about a weakening of that power, Hitler would certainly help Subhash in his efforts. He would not miss such an opportunity.

We know very little about Subhash Babu's activities in Germany. Indians have heard with rapt attention the speeches he delivered over the Berlin Radio. But that was all. Only very recently news has trickled out throwing some light over his activities in Germany. Subhash was by nature very secretive. In none of his speeches he has thrown any light over the mystery of his escape or the activities which he pursued in Germany. People came to know about the existence of the Indian National Army on the soil of Europe only when Subhash Babu's message was read before the Bangkok Con-

ferencs of 1942. Subhash Babu had personally visited the *various war-fronts of Europe. He himself had tried to* evaluate the military might of Germany. He had even *acquainted himself with Germany's organisational machinery.* Recent reports even suggest that Subhash underwent a rigorous course of military training while he was in Germany. He certainly had studied the military organisation of Germany in detail.

One of the officers of the Indian National Army established in Europe, Shantaram Vishnu Samant by name has given us many bits of interesting news regarding Subhash's activities in Germany as well as the Indian National Army which Subhash had organised. Mr. Samant had served as an officer of the I. N. A. in Europe for two and a half years when he was arrested and sent to India to be interned in one of the numerous camps established in the country for the purpose. Just after his recent release Mr. Samant made a statement regarding the Indian National Army in Europe. Let us review that statement in brief:

"When the Allies and the Axis powers were locked in a deadly struggle in Lybia and when the Italo-German armies were incessantly raining bombs and shells on the British sector, people were one day surprised to see leaflets being dropped from air instead of the destructive bomb.

These leaflets were written in Hindi Urdu and English. They bore the signature of Subhash Chandra Bose in bold letters. The leaflets said: "My Indian Brethren, I have now reached Germany. How I reached there is a long story which would not bear narration just now, I have many other things to tell you and that is why I am not

touching on the story of my escape. I want to tell you that this war is a war between the Britishers and the Germans. This is not our war and we have nothing to do with it".

Leaflets of similar description were often dropped on the Indian Sector of the British lines. At first the Britishers said that the wily German Commander Rommel was doing all this in the name of Subhash. Yet the leaflets had their effect. They created a great sensation among the Indian personel. The war was becoming more intense every moment and the suspicion lurking in the hearts of Indian soldiers began to get a firmer hold. The soldiers found themselves torn between two loyalties. They did not know whose orders to obey, on which side to fight. One day they saw light. The love for the land of their birth asserted itself and the brave Indian soldiers acting at the behest of one of India's greatest sons–Subhash Chandra Bose–threw away their arms, The Indians numbered about 27,000 out of a total force of 45,000. Britishers received a great blow because of this defection of the Indians. The Germans captured the whole army corps of 45,000 at Aladan. The result was that the whole area stretching from Alexandria to Aladan came under the control of the Germans.

Subhash saw the soldiers captured at Aladan for the first time while he was in Dresden. In Dresden the work of organising an Indian National Army was inaugurated in 1942. Dresden was chosen as its headquarters. Subhash began to be addressed as "Netaji" from that time only.

Subhash, addressing the soldiers of the I. N. A. after its inception, once said: "I do not want to compel you to join the I. N. A. If you have got any love for your

country left in your heart, if your conscience accept my thesis—then and then only you are to join the I. N. A.

A golden opportunity has presented itself to Indians to free their motherland from foreign yoke. If we miss it we are likely to be consigned to perdition for at least a thousand years to come. Germans are our friends. Britishers are the enemies of both of us, and both of us have to fight against them—the Britishers. You gird up your loins for your fight for freedom and make the best use of the power of those who are ready to help you."

On that same day Netaji unfurled the national flag. That flag was similar to Congress flag. The only difference was that along with the emblem of the spinning wheel there was the emblem of a tiger which once used to adorn the ensign of Tippu Sultan. At the flag salutation ceremony Netaji said: " Come what may, we must always uphold the prestige of our flag."

Adequate arrangements were made by Netaji for his Indian soldiers—arrangements which were identical with those made for the German soldiers. The Indian soldiers had their own uniform and their own badge, which bore the motto of " Swatantra Bharat " (Independent India). Everybody used to receive his pay in time. An Indian soldier of the common rank used to get one mark—nearly 18 annas—per day. The Germans had given those soldiers all the civic rights enjoyed by Germans. The Indians could marry German girls even—many Indians in fact did take advantage of this concession. Special arrangements were made for the recreation of the members of the I. N. A. A dramatic party called the " Azad Hind Party " was specially organised for the purpose. This party used to

give dramatic performances every Saturday. These performances attracted a good deal of attention from the Germans. There was one "Azad Hind Radio Station" also. Netaji's usual dress at the time was a long black coat, white pants, and black cap. In this dress, he looked like an uncrowned King of India. There was a halo of light about his face which one would associate with the dawn of independence.

In fact, we could discern the first signs of the advent of independence in all his actions, his talk, his outlook and his efficiency. There was no doubt that he was born to be our Netaji-our leader and we used to respect him as such. We had pledged our lives to him and he had pledged to gain independence of our country.

It must be mentioned that he was more of our friend than our Netaji. He always used to inspect our barracks. Before we came under Netaji's banner, we had worked for years under British Generals, and the profound difference between the leadership and generalship of the two became instantly apparent to us. The British Generals knew only how to order and how to rule. They used to deal with us arbitrarily without caring for our difficulties and for our complaints. Our Netaji on the other hand was our father, brother and friend, rolled into one. He remained one of us and that constituted his real greatness. Netaji was the living embodiment of the highest traditions of ideal generalship. He was more of a friend than anything else, to even the humblest amongst us. We could talk to him freely and frankly and he on his part always expressed sweet sentiments, tactfully channelising our bubbling spirits in the right direction. He inspired courage and enthusiasm

amongst all the ranks of the Army. Netaji did not use to eat a morsel, even during the uncertain days of actual warfare as he was not assured that each one of us had been adequately fed. There was no peace for him. He did not know any rest. He always used to work right upto the small hours of the morning.

Netaji had won the love and respect of all Germany. Big German officers and even Hitler himself received him with the respect that was his due. The Germans used to call him " His Excellency Subhash Chandra Bose of the Free Indian Government " and we used to call him the Netaji of the Indian National Army.

Hitler had kept aside a sumptuous bunglow for Netaji's use in Dresden but Netaji used to stay mainly in Berlin. He visited Dresden every now and then, travelling mostly by air. The German Government gave him all the facilities he needed. The National flag of India always used to flutter on the bonnet of Subhash Babu's car.

The British radio incessantly poured out vitriolic propaganda about Subhash and that made Netaji reminiscent one day. He told us: " If anybody believes that I have come to this alien land for personal gain, he is labouring under a delusion. The enemy says that I have quarrelled with the Congress and Gandhiji and quitting my country have come here to make a name for myself. This is a black lie. I am not straining each and every nerve and fibre of my body for any personal ends. I have come here to free my dear land from the British yoke. I shall go to India only when I am successful in my attempt. I shall deliver free india into Gandhiji's hands and then ask that great leader to shoulder the responsibility of its administration."

Once I asked Netaji as to how he could inveigle the Indian Police and the C. I. D. and escape from their net. We were all very eager to hear the story of his adventure but we were disappointed. When I posed my question Netaji remained silent for some moments, then he said. "Please do not try to know that story just now. Let the dead past bury its dead. It is a matter for the historian to record. You will be appraised of the facts relating to it when we land in free India. Simultaneously the millions in India will also have their curiosity satisfied."

Germans prepared a film of Netaji and his National Army. India will one day see through the medium of that film how we and Netaji underwent intensive military training, how Netaji spent all his time in attending to various matters, how Hitler respected Netaji, how we respected and honoured our national flag and how we used to eat and live and play. Germans told us that, that film would constitute a historic record for the people of India after the Britishers quit their land.

Once Netaji hinted that he intended to go to some distant corner of the globe. He asked us not to allow our work to suffer and assured us that when circumstances would permit, he would make arrangements to call us all near him. He said "Do not be disheartened. I want to see India free and today I am leaving this land for furthering my aim–to see my ideas assume concrete shape." When Netaji left Germany, we were informed that he had left by a submarine in company with Colonel Hasan Ali, from Port Ker in Holland.

After Netaji's departure, Hitler addressed a meeting of the I. N. A. in Dresden. He spoke in German and his speech

was translated into Hindustani by an interpreter. Hitler said: "You are fortunate to have been born in a country with such glorious cultural traditions and such colossal man power. I am pleased to see the burning passion with which you and your Netaji yearn to make your country free from foreign domination. The value of your Netaji is even more than mine. I am a leader of only 80 million Germans while he is the leaner of 400 million Indians. In all respects he is a better leader and a better general than myself. I salute him and Germany salutes him. It is the duty of all Indians to accept him as their Fuhrer and to obey him implicitly. I have no doubt that if you wlll do that, his guidance will lead India very soon to freedom."

Field Marshal Goering and other big officers also delivered speeches in that meeting.

One day General Rommel addressing an I. N. A. rally said: " I see Hindus and Muslims working together in the I. N. A. Netaji is the only person outside India who has organised a national army, composed of both Hindus and Muslims. I am very much grieved to know that in your country you live as antagonists. This Hindu-Muslim question has been a barrier in your way to freedom. If you could unite in a foreign land, you could do that in your own land also. This Indian National Army should serve as a glorious illustration of Hindu-Muslim unity to your country. I believe that the presence of British in India is the sole reason for Hindu-Muslim differences."

Our national slogan was "Jai Hind". We first heard the slogan from Netaji's own mouth, He greeted us with "Jai Hind" when he first met us. Thereafter we began using that slogan in all our activities. A time came when

even Germans begin greeting us with "Jai Hind" whenever they met us.

We heard Netaji on radio after an interval of four months. He was heard saying: " I have reached Singapore. I have decided to organise Indian National Army in far East also."

We continued our work and our training; once when we were stationed on a small hillock in Rhineland, some enemy paratroops landed there all of a sudden at about 11 O'clock. We instantaneously engaged them and continued our fight for full three days but when we did not receive any help from the Germans, we had to surrender. We were captured and brought to India. First we all were kept in the Red-Fort but after some time I was transferred to Multan. From there I was taken to Muttra Jail and.........at last released.

Many members of the I. N. A. in Europe are kept behind prison bars in the various jails of the country. 1834 men of the army are interned in the Bahaduragarh Camp. Newsmen have fished out the information that this prisoners are subjected to very great hardships. They are given clean pure water for the purposes of drinking only. There are no facilities for bath, etc. They do not get newspapers. They are forbidden to use the slogan " Jain Hind" in greeting each other. They are not allowed to recite even the national anthem. Moreover, the British Officers in an attempt to coerce the soldiers into acting according to their behest subject them to inhuman atrocities Those who do not obey British orders have to face bayonets, lathis, etc."

Over and above the foregoing report, another report dealing with Subhash Babu's activities in Europe has seen the light of the day. The following is the gist of it:

According to a statement made by a sergeant of the I. N. A. in Europe, Hitler visited the European headquarters of the I. N. A. at Dresden only once. The said sergeant has seen service in Germany, Holland and other countries as a member of the I. N. A. He was recently released from prison.

He said that Hitler accompanied by Subhash Babu (in black cap and civil attire), once took the joint salute of the I. N. A. and German infantry. After inspecting the troops Hitler spoke to them for about 10–12 minutes. He said:

" German civilians, soldiers, and free Indians ! I take this opportunity to welcome your acting Fuhrer Herr Subhash Chandra Bose. He has come here to guide all those free Indians who love their country and are determined to free it from foreign yoke. It is too much for me to dare to give you any instructions or advice because you are sons of a free country and you would naturally like to obey implicitly the accredited leader of your land.

Yet, you German soldiers and civilians would do well to remember one thing. Your Fuhrer has been entrusted with the task of protecting the interests of a nation of 80 million souls while Herr Bose has been pledged to look after the interests of his 400 million countrymen. That is a reason enough for you to extend to him and his Government the same amount of co-operation and respect that you have bestowed on your Fuhrer."

These two statements, when read concurrently prove to us that Hitler had sincerely helped the I. N. A. in Europe in the beginning but when Germany could not make any headway in Russia and the beginnings of its defeat

were discernible, Hitler left the I. N. A. to its fate. It is not important whether the above-mentioned speech of Hitler was delivered in presence or absence of Subhash Babu, because both the reports contain identical references about Subhash.

It is clear from Mr. Samant's statement that Subhash wanted to effect a co-ordination between the I. N. A. in Europe and the I. N. A. in Asia, though his dream remained unfulfilled to the end. When Subhash left Berlin for Japan in 1943, the war had taken a turn. Yes, Japan's back was yet not broken and it had begun to enjoy the fruits of its victories (It was utilizing the wealth that had come into its hands by its conquest of thousands of square miles of new territory) but the conditions in Germany had changed. Hitler's hope of smashing Russia in 12 weeks was itself smashed and the Russian front monopolised all his attention, This lessened the extent of co-operation between Japan and Germany. The distance of thousands of miles between the European and Asiatic fronts aggravated the situation. Circumstances were such that Germany was not able to make full use of Subhash Babu's presence in the country. At the other end, the Indian comrades of East Asia were continually pressing Subhash to make the Far East his field of activities. The Bangkok Conference had even passed a resolution to that effect.

This change in circumstances seems to have induced Subhash to leave Berlin and go to Tokyo.

Mr. Ali Hasan was the principal co-worker, who accompanied Subhash from Berlin to Tokyo. He used to work as a private secretary to Subhash Babu. Today he has returned to India and according to a statement which

he has made, Subhash and party took full three months to reach Sumatra from Berlin. Japanese warships were controlling the high seas right up to the shores of Sumatra while the waters that were to be traversed for reaching Sumatra from Berlin were infested with enemy ships and submarines. Over and above that there were aeroplanes and enemy intelligence corps. For days, Subhash's submarine had to be submerged.

Subhash had two submarines at his disposal. One was sent by Japan, the other was sent by Germany. They once accosted an enemy ship in the Atlantic ocean. A slight error in navigation had resulted in their submarine coming to the surface and it was spotted by the captain of the enemy ship. He even recognised it as a German submarine and began to pursue it. By a stroke of good luck, the submarine could submerge in time to save itself and put a good many miles between it and the enemy raider. Thus Subhash was saved from falling into the hands of the Allies. The voyage to Sumatra was full of all sorts of hazards but after Sumatra there was no danger. They could move about as free men in the seas controlled by Japan.........Thus Subhash reached Tokyo safely after an adventurous voyage of three months.

The activities which Subhash undertook after he reached Tokyo constitute a glorious chapter of his life. He literally created a new unique world arround him. All the dreams which Subhash had been entertaining since his childhood seemed to have taken shape in that new creation. India can never forget the romantic history of that period.

We shall review that history in brief during the succeeding chapters.

II

THE BATTLEFIELD OF ASIA

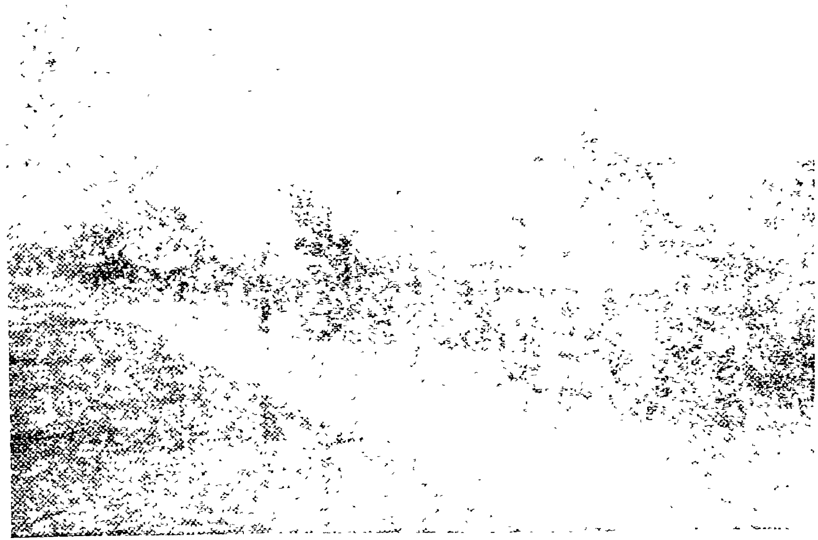
The first broadcast of Subhash Babu from Tokyo unnerved the British propagandists for once. They could easily make Subhash's predecessor Mr. Rash Bheari Bose the target of their attack and brand him as a Japanese stooge before the eyes of the world, because Mr. Rash Behari Bose had made Japan his home for the last 30 years and had married a Japanese wife. But Subhash was a different man altogether. After his appearance in Tokyo the attacks of the British propagandists lost all their force because Indians knew their Subhash much more than they knew him. Indians knew how Subhash had sacrificed his whole life at the alter of service to motherland. They also knew that Subhash has spent precious years of his life and youth undergoing imprisonment at the hands of the British. When Subhash was not in prison, he was wandering in some foreign land studying world conditions. All these things proved an effective barrier against British propaganda. No Indian was ready to believe that he was an enemy of India or that he was a puppet playing in the hands of Japan. Even those who believed in their ignorance that Subhash's efforts would strengthen the hands of Japan, which ultimately would establish its supremacy in india if it came out victorious, did not doubt for a moment Subhash Babu's patriotism.

Such was the state of affairs when Subhash reached Tokyo and assumed leadership. As said above, Subhash's

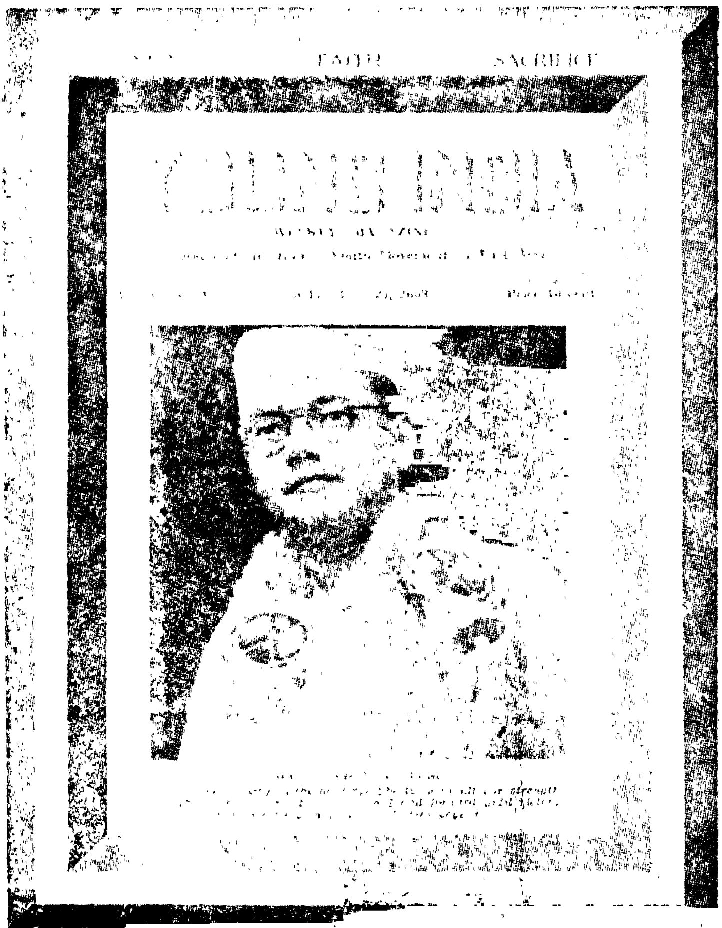
appearance in Tokyo unnerved the Britishers, because they knew that the army that was waiting for a leader to appear on the battlefields of Asia would get what it wanted. It was well and good for the Britishers as long as Subhash was in Berlin, but now it was different. His presence in Asia began to inspire new life into the down-hearted but brave Indian soldiers. As we have seen in the preceding chapters the Indian National Army which was organised at the cost of untold suffering and sacrifice, would have been reduced to nothing if Subhash had not appeared on the stage to mould the circumstances and give them a new shape. The sacrifice of thousands of brave warriors would have been in vain and Mr. Rash Behari Bose, Capt. Mohansingh, Mr Raghavan, Mr. Menon, Colonel Bhonsle and others would have despaired of circumstances ever becoming bright again. But God chose to send Subhash to East Asia at the critical moment and things took a different turn.

The new constitution of the Indian Independence League was formed when Subhash was in Tokyo. The air was thick with the talk of his impending arrival in South East Asia. Mr. Rash Behari Bose experienced a new thrill of hope even though the course of his life was nearly run. The doubts, suspicions and fears, to which the Indian soldiers had become susceptible, were being dispelled gradually. The net cast by the Japanese was also being broken gradually. The newly reorganised "Indian National Army" was experiencing a new sense of vigour. It was as if new life was instilled in it.

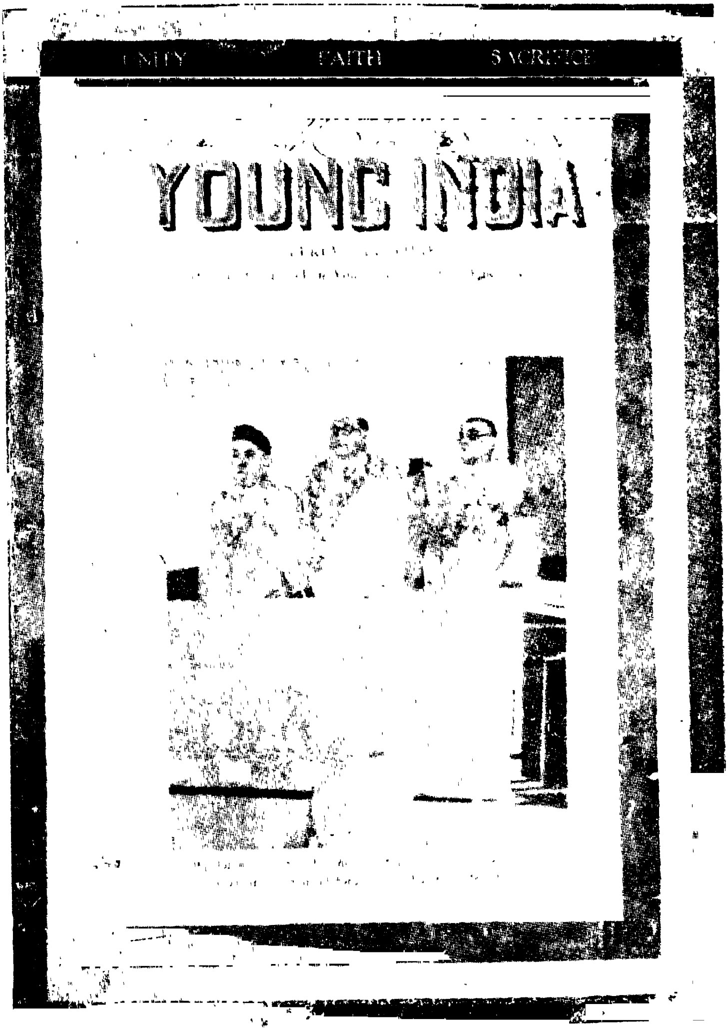
In these circumstances, Mr. Rash Behari Bose started for Tokyo to pay his respects to Subhash and to bring



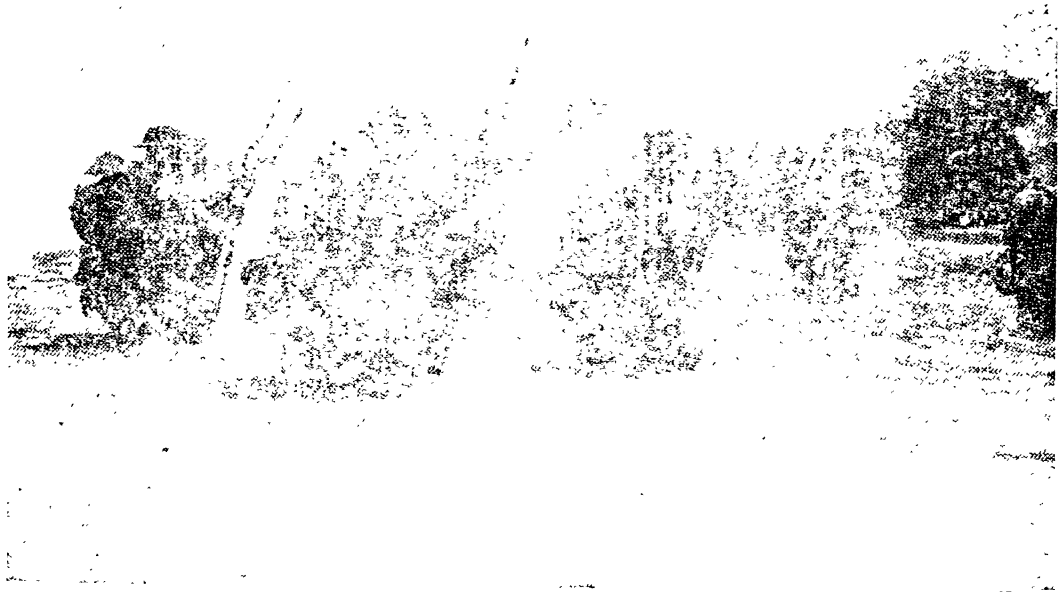
And the earth vibrated with the thunder of passing tanks.



"Young India" an organ of the youth movement in East Asia, welcomed Subhash thus



Another front page of "Young India". The meaning of the I. N. A. motto, "Unity, faith, sacrifice" is here explained.



"Poised and ready to pounce upon their prey."

him to South East Asia. Subhash had been living in Tokyo for two and a half months by then. During that time he had contacted the leaders of Japanese government as well as Japanese military experts. The then Japanese Premier Tojo had assured Subhash of his full support and had told him that Japan wanted to see India free.

When Subhash set foot on the soil of Singapore on the second day of July 1943, the three million Indians of greater East Asia greeted him as their saviour. There were rejoicings everywhere. Public meetings were convened to pass resolutions of welcome. The sky was rent with the cry of "Subhash Babuki Jai."

Only two days after Subhash Babu's arrival a meeting of the representatives of all Indians residing in greater East Asia was called at Syonan on 4th July, which was a Sunday. The arrangements for this meeting were made long before. This meeting constitutes an important landmark in the history of the struggle of East Asia, because it was during this meeting that Subhash Babu, that great Indian patriot and revolutionary leader assumed officially the coveted post of the President of the Indian Independence League. It was a golden day for the Indians in East Asia and they celebrated it in a befitting manner. The meeting was convened under the auspicies of the Indian Independence League and it sent a wild wave of enthusiasm over the land. The glorious and unique scenes of royal splendour which were witnessed at the time of this meeting were truly unforgettable.

" Immediate mobilization for war against Britain and the establishment of a Provisional Government of Free

India to direct the forward march into Hindustan were dramatically announced by Subhash Chandra Bose addressing the delegates from the Indian Independence League all over East Asia and the large gathering of the general public.

From early morning large crowds of Indians thronged all approaches to the Gekijo and braved the leaden skies and a steady drizzle to secure " Darshan " of the revered leader. Subhash Bose on arrival at the Gekijo, accompanied by Rash Behari Bose, was greeted by a thunderous ovation from the waiting crowds.

This dais was over hung by the Hinomaru and the Indian National Tricolour, a symbol of the unity of the two great nations which yesterday's meeting forged into an indissoluble link. On Subhash Bose's entry into the meeting hall the whole assembly rose to its feet. This was followed by many an unrehearsed thrill. From all parts of the house men rose to their feet and repeatedly cheered Subhash Bose, Rash Behari Bose. Mahatma Gandhiji, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the whole galaxy of national heroes.

The following message of congratulations was read from the Nippon Premier General Tojo, reaffirming Nippon's inflexible determination to help India to expel the Anglo-American and attain complete independence.

On the occasion of welcoming the great leader Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose, the Indian Independence League in East Asia holds a meeting of the Committee of Representatives of Indians in East Asia at Syonan, which has been liberated from British bondage; with this welcome to Subhash Bose, you are taking a long stride towards

decisive action with renewed and grim determination to achieve India's Independence.

"On this occasion, I extend my most sincere congratulations, because it is a happy augury not only for India but for all East Asia also.

Since the out-break of the Great East Asia War, the Imperial Japanese Forces have annihilated the enemy wherever he was found and within a very short time battered all Anglo-American strategical points in this part of Asia.

At the same time the bonds of unity among Japan, Manchu Kuo, China and Thailand have been strengthened, and they are irresistibly advancing towards the goal of the establishment of the sphere of co-prosperity in East Asia.

With unshakable faith in ultimate victory and the triumph of justice for which Japan is fighting, the accumulated wrongs and misdeeds of the British are going to be wiped out. Thus the brilliant dawn of Greater East Asia has arrived.

This is the golden opportunity for India to liberate herself and such a rare opportunity will never occur again.

With the out-break of the Greater East Asia War Indian Nationalists in India rose against their British rulers and India has thus already attained spiritual Independence.

The British Empire, which is gasping for the last breath, will in desperation choose any means to put off the day of their impending gloom, and America is also stretching its devilish hands towards India.

In a situation like this, it is by no means an easy task for Indians to achieve India's complete independence

but four hundred million Indians should unite into one solid body and win their own freedom and independence with their own blood and toil.

The sincere wish of Japan for the fulfilment of India's long-cherished ambition of " India for Indians " has been proved beyond doubt by the repeated declarations of the Government of Nippon. Nippon is inflexibly determined to exhaust all her means to help India in achieving her independence, which is the earnest desire of Indians.

It is Japan's sincere wish that the active movement for the achievement of India's independence must be intensified both inside and outside India, and the Anglo–American forces must be driven out of every corner of India as early as possible.

The world situation is becoming more complicated, and taking advantage of this the Anglo–American enemies will no doubt intensify their intrigues.

Traditionally, Nippon is a country which invariably keeps faith where friends trust one another and so is India.

I sincerely wish that Indians will not be deceived by Anglo–American intrigues and miss the God-sent opportunity to win their freedom. I trust that Indians with firm faith in the victory of Japan, Germany and Italy will fight for justice and righteousness, shoulder to shoulder with us.

I firmly believe that this is the only way that Indians can hasten to the Glorious Day of their Freedom, and I sincerely wish them every success in their brave fight."

Shri Subhash Bcse moved a resolution thanking the Nippon Premier for the inspiring message assuring him of

the unshakable determination of Indians outside and inside India to fight shoulder to shoulder with Nippon and her Axis partners till Anglo-American Imperialism is overthrown and the Indian people recover their lost liberty. This resolution was passed with acclamation entire gathering standing.

The proceedings opened with garlanding of the two leaders by girl students of the Ramakrishna Mission who also sang the Bande Mataram song in a most inspiring manner. Miss S. N. Saraswati kept the audiance spell-bound for a few minutes with her fine rendition of Indian National Songs.

Amidst wild cheers of enthusiasm rose that venerable old man the father of the Indian Independence in East Asia Shri Rash Behari Bose and delivered his presidential address in English. The speech was constantly interrupted by prolonged applause and continued cheers from an audiance that was all attention.

(The following is the text of the Presidential Address delivered by him on the 4th July 2603 before the Conference).

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms,

"It is indeed a great pleasure for myself and for you all that we meet today, so soon after our last Conference in Syonan. But events are marching fast these days and our Movement for the sacred cause of Mother India has made enormous strides in the two months since our Conference at the end of April. To day we are on the eve of the most vital the most decisive phase of our fight for the freedom of our Mother-land, and I am confident that we are on the threshold of victory.

Friends, it is now one year and a half since the Indian Independence Movement was organised in East Asia. For all practical purposes, that historic day, December 8th, 1941, when Japan unsheathed the sword of righteousness to destroy the Anglo-American Imperialism and to liberate the Asiatic Nations from bondage...... that historic day marked the inception of the Indian Independence Movement in its present form. You do not expect me on this occasion to review the progress of our Movement, to enumerate our efforts, our successes and our failures. You know we started from scratch with nothing but our indomitable spirit of service to our Motherland. But soon we found sincere friends and powerful allies and our Movement gathered strength, thanks to your efforts and co-operation, thanks to the patriotic fervour of Indians throughout East Asia. And our most sincere gratitude is due to our Japanese friends, the Government of Japan, the local Military Authorities in every part of East Asia and to the Japanese Nation in general.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, as you all know very well, we have had our share of trials and tribulations, some trivial other serious. But thanks to your grim resolve in the battle for India's freedom and to your patience and devotion to duty, our movement survived all obstacles in its way and emerged with increased strength and solidarity. Today the Indian Independence League is an All-East Asia Organization an organization which is almost on a war footing. The League's Branches throughout East Asia are functioning smoothly and every Branch is contributing its share to the success of the great events now ahead of us. Friends, I want to thank you from the

very bottom of my heart for all the support, assistance, and co-operation extended to me by you and your colleagues, as well as by my compatriots throughout East Asia in the fulfilment of duties and responsibilities you have entrusted to me.

Friends, I told you that we are now on the eve of a new phase of our fight for India's independence. For decades, India has been struggling against British domination and exploitation. Thousands of Indian patriots have laid down their lives in the cause of India's freedom; and even at this very moment, all India is at war with Britain. As Mahatma Gandhi, our revered leader has stressed, "This is a fight to the finish". And with the help of Almighty God, the fight will be finished with the glorious victory of India and ignominious defeat of India's enemies, the Anglo-Americans.

Friends, a casual glance at world events today will show you what I mean. Within India the Anti-British revolution has been going on for nearly eleven months. The British boasted that they would crush the revolution in no time but they have failed and failed miserably, inspite of all the ruthless terror and repression they unleashed on India's freedom-fighters. Beyond the frontiers of India we Indians in East Asia are girding for battle to supplement the efforts of Indian Nationalists at home. And in support of us for the assistance of India we have powerful allies, the Japanese. It was only the other day while I was at Tokyo that the Prime Minister, General Hideki Tojo, reaffirmed Japan's pledge of all-outside aid to India in her fight against the Anglo-American forces. And you will remember that Premier Tojo also

made the categorical declaration that it is Japan's policy to assist India to attain full independence in the true sense of the term.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, now you see why I am confident that India's victory is a certainty. As I have told you very often, the odds are in our favour—I mean in India's favour—and against our enemies, the Anglo-American enemies of India. This is our God-sent opportunity—an opportunity that we must take advantage of. For decades India fought Britain single-handed, but today, India has powerful allies. Japan and her Axis partners in Europe are India's friends and allies. India is with them in this war. Victory of the Axis Powers means freedom of India; victory of the Anglo-Americans means slavery of India for hundreds of years to come. Therefore as Indians our duty is clear. For the sake of India's freedom, for the sake of justice and decency in this world, for the sake of a better order of human life and intercourse, we Indians must work and fight for the victory of Japan and the Axis Powers. For, as I have just said, victory of Japan and the Axis powers means victory of India, the freedom of four hundren million Indians, the glory of Asia and a new order in the world.

Friends, when I left Syonan for Tokyo towards the end of May, I told you that I would be back in about six weeks. And I am here now. I want to thank the Administative Committee of the Head-Quarters for the most efficient manner in which they had carried on the work during my absence and, want to thank you all for the warm reception you accorded me on my return.

Today we meet here just two days after my return

from Tokyo and naturally you would expect me to say something of what I saw and heard in Japan. Well, I was impressed by many things I saw and heard during my brief sojourn in Japan. I was greatly impressed by the great sympathy for India's cause on the part of the entire Japanese Nation from His Excellency the Premier down to the man in the street. Freedom of India is stressed on all sides and the entire Japanese Nation is prepared out and out in helping India expel the Anglo-American enemies and to win the National Independence. And you know for yourselves that Japan is fully confident of her ability to to help us crush the Anglo-Americans in India. And as for the sincerity of Japan's policy we have before us the historic example of Burma which will be independent very soon and that of the Phillipines which will emerge as a free country within the course of this year 2603.

Friends, this is India's golden opportunity-an opportunity the like of which may never again occur. We take this opportunity and we save our Mother land, We save the four hundred millions of our compatriots from the alien tyranny that has been crushing their body and soul for over two hundred years, On the other hand, we miss this opportunity and we betray our Mother land. We condemn our four hundred million brothren and the future generations of India, to slavery for ever. Now or never is our opportunity: now or never is India's chance for freedom.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, you might probably expect me to say something more of what I saw in Japan. Well, I saw in Japan a great and powerful Nation in its grim resolve for victory. And remember what I told you

just a little while ago: Japan's victory means India's freedom, India's victory and glory.

In Japan, I saw mighty forces at work forging weapons of war, assuring victory of the Asiatic cause. The unity and determination of the people of Japan are marvellous, their war-efforts at their zenith, factories work day and night turning over war planes, tanks, arms and ammunition. The huge factories and workshops which once carried on peace-time manufacture, are armament factories now which means the entire industry of Japan is a war industry. The entire labour of the Japanese Nation is now war-labour. New docks and shipyards in various parts of Japan turn out war-ships and merchant vessels to further strengthen Japan's invincible Navy and intrepid merchant marine. Training of soldiers, officers and airmen goes on throughout the country and millions of youngmen are joining the armed forces. And as for the food situation in Japan, I got exactly the same food that I got last year. There is plenty of rice, fish, meat and vegetables. One year and a half of war has not in the least affected Japan's food situation, thanks to the excellent planning and control by the Government. In one word, I found Japan, united as one man with no thought but of war and victory—victory of the holy war of liberation, victory that would mean freedom and prosperity for India and all Asia.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, you might now ask me what I did in Tokyo for our cause, what present I have brought for you. Well I have brought for you this present (turning to Subhash.) Shrijut Subhash Chandra Bose needs no introduction to you, to India or to the

world. He symbolises all that is best, noblest, the most daring and the most dynamic in the youth of India. As an all India leader in the fight against British Imperialism, he stands as a class by himself. He is a brilliant leader and an uncompromising fighter. He has dedicated his life to the cause of Mother India and he richly deserves the name of "Desh Sevak Subhash". Eleven times he has been to British political prisons but all that suffering and sacrifice have only strengthened his dynamic will to wage the battle for freedom until victory is achieved.

Friends, this is one of the happiest moments in my life. I have brought to you one of the most outstanding personalities of our sacred Mother land to participate in our campaign for the freedom of India. The spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome which the two million Indians in East Asia have extended to Subhash is an unqualified assurance to him—and to me and to India—that Indians in East Asia have whole heartedly placed themselves and all they have at his command.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, in your presence today I resign from my office and appoint Desh Sevak Subhash Chandra Bose as a President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. From now onwards Subhash Chandra Bose is your President, your leader in the fight for India's Independence. And I am confident that under his leadership you will march on to battle and to victory. And of course I will be always by your side sharing the glory and sufferings of the battle and sharing the joy and victory as well.

You know I have dedicated my life in my own humble way, to the cause of our sacred Mother land.

That is my life mission. And as long as there is breath in my body I shall be the soldier that I have always been the soldier in the battle for Mother India's freedom. And of course I shall not spare myself in giving him all that I can give him—whole hearted co-operation, assistance and advice in the battle that is now ahead of us.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms, the greatest moment in our lives has come. We are on the eve of the most decisive phase of our campaign; and we stand on the threshold of victory. I see the hand of God in the happy and auspicious way in which events are taking shape. So my friends, have faith in God, have faith in yourselves, have faith in our friends and allies, have faith in their victory which is India's victory as well and be ready to plunge yourselves into the battle......the battle that will lead our sacred Mother land to Freedom, Victory and Glory."

Inquilab Zindabad
Desh Sevak Subhash Ki Jai
Azad Hindustan

Shri Rash Behari Bose's address was translated into Tamil by Lieut-Col S. A. Alagappan.

In his stirring address welcoming Srijut Subhash Chandra Bose Sri. J. A. Thiv, chairman of the Malaya Branch of the Indian Independence League, reaffirmed the pledge of all Indians in Malaya to serve India and the Indian Independence Movement to their fullest capacity even at the risk of their lives. Here follows the full text of that welcome speech.

"I feel it a great honour and privilege to address this gathering on this unique occasion, an occasion

pregnant with momentous things to come for the glory of our Mother-land.

We most heartily welcome Shrijut Subhash Chandra Bose our new Leader, in our midst. I think it would be presumptuous on my part to dwell on the unique services he has rendered to our country ever since he completed his brilliant educational career.

Suffice it to say that by his precept and example Subhash Babu has endeared himself to one and any of us as a National Hero and we are proud to have him here to lead us on to battle and to victory.

A few personalities have been instrumental in bringing India's aim within the ambit of realization, and certainly not the least of them is our revered, retiring President Sjt Rash Behari Bose.

How are we to measure the incalculable service he has rendered to India during his long sojourn in Japan which has since the Dai Toa Senso was declared, time and again assured us of every assistance in our task of attaining complete independence of India, in the true sense of the term?

We know full well that but for his organising ability, tact and popularity, above all his burning patriotism, this Movement would not have attained its present war-footing which is clearly demonstrated by such institutions as the Youth Section, Azad School and Bharat Youth Training Centre, not to mention the Indian National Army. I can only convey our deep sense of gratitude for all his services by saying, "We thank you, Sir."

Indians in India too have after long years of patient toil and untold suffering under the existing leadership of

that apostle of non-violence Mahatma Gandhi realised that the time has come to vindicate India's honour by force. Mahatmaji himself has said: "I would India rather resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own Dishonour".

And we would certainly be helpless witness to India's Dishonour if we do not fight now, drive out the Anglo-Saxon dominators from the soil of India and so ensure peace and prosperity in Asia.

Providence has guided India's destiny to the persent phase when Indians inside and outside India are ready for the battle, and when our friend and ally Dai Nippon has pledged to give us all over aid.

Now, at this opportune moment the young energetic All India Leader Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose has reached the hub of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to direct it to its certain goal-Purna Swaraj. We shall not falter, we shall not be found wanting.

Subhash Babu, we pledge ourselves to serve India and the Indian Independence Movement to our fullest capacity, even at the risk of our lives, and to that end we today tender to you, Sir, in no uncertain terms our complete loyalty and devotion to you as our President and will by our action show our implcit faith and trust in you as our Leader.

Bande Matram

Lieut. Col. J. K. Bhonsle, the D. M. B, made a speech in Hindustani welcoming the new President on behalf of the Army in the following manner.

"Two days ago I on behalf of the Indians of East Asia, had the proud privilege of welcoming you amidst us; today as a soldier, on behalf of the Indian National Army, I greet you.

Your brilliant achievement as one of the greatest leaders of contemporary India and the sacrifices that you have made for the cause of our Mother-land, are so well-known to every one that there is no need for me to narrate them here.

To us you are a new hope, your arrival has instilled a new spirit among our soldiers. So far we had an ideal and a cause to fight for, now we have a Leader who will inspire and guide us successfully to the achievement of our goal.

The battle of Indian Independence started in 1857 and has gone on incessantly ever since. So far victory has been denied to us. During every phase of our struggle there was something lacking. We had no armed force to fight the might of the British Empire. We had leader of the highest calibre, our men and women showed courage and valour unparalleled in the world history. Unarmed and unaided from outside, they defied the British Empire. Through sheer tenacity of our purpose we managed to get a few concessions out of the grudging Britishers, but final goal of complete Independence was still not achieved.

To win victory, it is necessary to engage armed forces of the enemy in the battle and destroy them. To carry out this operation you must have an organised armed force of your own. Today India has an army pledged to fight for the liberation of India. We are determined to fight any one who tries to dominate India. India is ours

and must belong to us. Our friends can come there and deal with us as friends but no one other than Indians shall ever rule her again. We have tasted the misery of slavery long enough. We will be free and shall remain free.

The sacrifice and sufferings of thousands of the brave Indians who have laid down their lives at the 'alter of Freedom and the prayers of the starving millions of India have borne fruit today. The combination of circumstances has created a most favourable situation for India.

Telling blows by the Axis Power have broken the might of the Anglo-American Imperialism, the people of India are up in revolt and with the help of Nippon we have organised ourselves in East Asia to fight for our Mother-land, We have been given a promise of all outside aid by Nippon and the other Axis Powers have given us the assurance of their support.

We are ready and have pledged to our Mother-land. We only await your orders. You are our Leader, We have entrusted our destinies and the destiny of India in your hand. When you think the opportune time to strike has come, on your orders we shall march forward.

Ours shall be grim but a glorious fight. I am sure-nay certain-our soldiers will give a good account of themselves. We will meet the enemy in the field and destroy him there and rid the sacred Bharat Mata from the evil influence of Anglo-American Imperialiam for ever.

Bande Matram

Before he commenced his address, Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose paid a well-deserved tribute to the retiring president in Hindustani which was translated into Tamil. It was indeed a touching scene. Subhash Bose said:-

" Before I begin my address, I wish to thank Shri Rash Behari Bose on behalf of myself and of all of you.

All of you know the services that he has rendered for Hindustan since the beginning of this War. I will enumerate here three of his main activities:

1. ......During the period of the last war and before it people in India knew him well for activities directed towards the liberation of India but the present generation may have forgotten him. His marvellous services at the risk of his own life during the last period for the liberation of India are not only in our memories but are also recorded by the British. After that he was compelled to leave the shores of India and he went to Japan. There he continued his activities for the cause of liberation of India.

2,.........If any of my friends here were to ask what he could have done for India from outside, then my reply will be, I know what he has done. He has propagated the cause of Indian Independence. Many of my countrymen and some of our leaders in India at present have no conception what service propaganda from outside India can render to the cause. I have always been advocating to acquire help from outside for the liberation of Mother India. Propaganda from outside is absolutely necessary to achieve our aim. Whatever propaganda that has been done in order to win sympathy of the Axis Powers in Europe has been my responsibility. Whatever has been done in this direction in Japan and East Asia has been done by Shri Rash Behari Bose. I have not met him before but what I and all of you can see today is that the good-will and sympathy of Japan have been

secured through his own efforts. Behind these achievements is the perseverence and hard toil for the past twenty to twenty-five years. Today you see the fruit of his labour.

3. The third important thing is inspite of his old age he accepted the leadership of this Movement on the outbreak of the East Asia War and that was indeed fortunate. But for his untiring efforts and perseverence this Movement would not have reached that stage it has

These are his main achievements though there are many more to his credit. You will appreciate the tremendous difficulties that had naturally to be confronted with but regardless of these difficulties he placed Mother India above everything else. On behalf of myself and all of you here I thank him from the bottom of my heart for all he has done, and request him to continue his activities in this Movement and guide us.

It is my wish that Shri Rash Behari Bose be pleased to accept the role of being my Supreme Advisor and guide me in leading this Movement and I am sure that he will do so with all his zeal."

And then he delivred the following speech before the conference.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose and Representatives of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia:-

"I Thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honour you have done me by appointing me to the leadership of the Indian Independence Movemnt in East Asia. I accept this responsibility-but I do so with a feeling of extreme humility and I pray that God may grant me strength to fulfil my duty, to the entire satisfaction of my countrymen at home and abroad.

If you were to hear my experiences—at home and abroad since the outbreak of the present war, you would feel as I do, that the hand of Providence has been protecting us from harm and has been guiding our efforts along the path leading to victory and freedom. This has increased my optimism and self-confidence a hundredfold.

Friends! The time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a war-crisis demands above all military discipline as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I therefore call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so.

I am glad to tell you that the momentous step taken today serves to unite in a common bond not only the patriotic Indians in East Asia but patriotic Indians all over the world as well. I have today the confidence and support of all freedom-loving Indians abroad who are actively working for the emancipation of our motherland. Even Indians now living in enemy countries where they are unable to work actively for India's feedom—are morally with us in the work that we are doing. Within my knowledge this is the first time in recent history that Indians living abroad have been united in one organisation for the attainment of one common goal.

What is perhaps even more remarkable is that patriotic Indians abroad are working in complete harmony with their country-men at home. I have publicly declared several times that when I left home and homeland in 1941 on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen.

Since then despite all the restrictions imposed by the C. I. D.-that is the Secret Service I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home. Today I can go so far as to inform you that during the twelve months a large number of our representatives have been sent into India from outside from all directions. Some of them have been captured and shot-for which we shall in due time exact full revenge. But many more have been able to evade arrest and according to latest reports they are working satisfactorily. Thus patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fighters at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now or may do in future has been and will be for the freedom of India and we shall never do anything that is either against the interest of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.

I shall now deal with the question as to how we can win our liberty. Some of my friends at home had hoped at one time, that under the pressure of an international crisis the British Government would in its own interest accede to India's demand for independence. These friends must have been disillusioned by now-because it is transparently clear that both during and after the War the British Government intends to exploit India more ruthlessly than ever before. That is why Field Marshall Lord Wavell is being sent as Viceroy and Governor-General. I have noticed that certain circles at home are extremely dissatisfied over this appointment and they would have probably preferred a man like Lord Halifax as Viceroy-but I do not share their view. For me the appointment

of Field Marshall Lord Wavell as Viceroy is a prophetic event–a writing on the wall. This ever-retreating Commander-in-Chief is destined to be the last Viceroy of India. Moreover the military political and economic exploitation of India which he is bound to intensify will further embitter the Indian masses and thereby strengthen the gathering forces of revolution.

But though India is in enmity with Britain for a period of Military Dictatorship under the new Viceroy I anticipate nevertheless, that in future another attempt at a compromise with India will be made. This attempt will be nothing more than a bluff or a hoax and our countrymen at home should be prepared in advance to see through it as they did when Sir Stafford Cripps offerd empty promises to India in April 1942. Mr. Winston Churchill, the supreme representative of the British people recently gave an indicaion of his mentality when he told the Lord Mayor of London that he did not like even the expression "British Common Wealth", preferring the expression "British Empire" instead. The last Imperialist Prime Minister of England will no doubt do his very best to preserve that Empire and any offer that he will make to the Indian people will be only for the purpose of deceiving them. But there is no sense in even thinking of a compromise with an Empire that will soon disappear from the face of the earth.

Those of you who have studied the history of freedom movements in other lands–as I have done must have observed that for the achievement of independence, two conditions are essential, firstly a favourable international situation and secondly necessary sacrifice and effort.

The first condition has been already fulfilled. If India had to fight single-handed with the British Empire our task would have been exceedingly difficult. The Tripartite Powers however by fighting our enemy and inflicting staggering defeats on him have lightened our burden to a considerable degree. And we have the further advantage that the Tripartite Powers are determined to carry on the war until Anglo-American Imperialism is overthrown.

Friends! For more than two years I have been constantly travelling, with a view to study the war situation at first hand. From this study I am convinced that however long this war may last there can but one outcome-namely, the complete victory of the Tripartite Powers and their allies. I am not blind to the many difficulties that have to be overcome before Anglo-American Imperialism could be defeated. I am also aware that in a long war temporary ups and downs are unavoidable and that the present moment the Anglo-American Powers are enjoying a temporary advantage in certain unimportant theatres of war. But the general war-situation and the strategic position in particular remains greatly advantageous to the Tripartite Powers and you will see that as the days roll by the Anglo-American Powers will have to suffer one defeat after another.

The British Empire in spite of all its power and might has been seeking and obtaining help from every possible quarter. It is therefore but natural that we too should look out for sympathy and assistance wherever it is available. Moreover every freedom-movement in history has had to seek some help or other from abroad, before it could achieve success. The logic of events in the present

case has made the Tripartite Powers our natural allies and there is nothing wrong if we accept their sympathy or even their help, should we need it.

I know that some of my countrymen who are under the influence of British Propaganda doubt the sincerity of the Tripartite Powers in their attitude towards India. But commonsense should tell them that that is the most natural thing for the enemies of British Imperialism to support India's demand for liberty. Moreover with the exception of England a free India will be an advantage to the whole world including the Tripartite Powers.

The Tripartite Powers have in the past often clarified their attitude towards India. In addition the Japanese Government, through its worthy Prime Minister General Tojo, has repeatedly proclaimed its policy towards the Phillipines, Burma and India. British politicians and propagandists being themselves hypocrites have been describing Japan's attitude as insincere and hypocritical. But Prime Minister General Tojo has dealt a crushing blow to Anglo-American Propaganda by boldly declaring before the whole world that independence will be a reality in Burma and in the Phillipines—not after the War but before the end of the current year.

Japan's attitude towards Burma and the Phillipines will be the most convincing proof of her sincerity and good faith. But apart from this as normal human being I see no reason why I should have any doubt or mistrust with regard to Japan's intentions. Japan was the first Asiatic Power to successfully resist foreigen aggression—and Japan knows more than any other Asiatic Power, that so long as the enslaved Asiatic Nations are not

emancipated, no Asiatic nation can feel completely safe from the menace of aggression. Moreover there is in Japan today that one might call an Asiatic consciousness which manifests itself in a desire to help other Asiatic Nations to achieve their liberation. This is a unique development which affords a golden opportunity to all enslaved nations in Asia to emancipate themselves and set up a new order based on freedom justice and morality.

If anybody has still any doubt in his mind on this point I should ask him to place his trust in me. My loyalty is to India and to India alone and not even our enemies will have the audacity to urge that I am capable of betraying my country. And as I said in Tokyo the other day if the British Government could not demoralise me after persecuting me all my life nobody else can do so. And if cunning British politicians sould neither cajole nor deceive me no one else can hope to do so.

Every Indian should realise that the victory of the Anglo-American Powers will mean for India continued enslavement and ruthless exploitation. Our only hope of freedom is therefore in a Tripartite Victory. But we should so conduct our own struggle that an Axis Victory may simultaneously bring us our liberty.

Friends! we have now the most favourable international situation and the most happy combination of circumstances. Consequently all that is needed for winning freedom is sufficient effort and sacrifice. Our record is by no means unsatisfactory. You may remember that in May last year after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and exactly 85 years after the outbreak of our first War of Independence— I declared that our national

struggle was entering upon a most significant phase. Since then we have passed many a milestone on our onward march the most important of these being the intensification of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the commencement of sabotage activities after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in August last. In the history of India's struggle August 1942 will therefore remain an unforgettable landmark indicating the psychological transition from passive to active resistances. Not content with a civil disobedience campaign the Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation.

The time has therefore come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organisations whether inside India or outside must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organisation under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organisation should be to take up arms against British Imperialism when the time is ripe and the signal is given.

In order to mobilise all our forces effectively I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India. It will be the task of this Provisional Government to lead the Indian Revolution to a successful conclusion. To this end the Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people–inside and outside India–for an armed struggle which will be culmination of all our national efforts since 1883. When the revolution succeeds and Anglo-American Imperialism is expelled from India the task of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then make room for a permanent Government to be set up inside India in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

When all our preparations for the last struggle are complete it will be possible to bring the Indian struggle into line with the common struggle of the Tripartite Powers against the common foe. By participating in this common fight we shall be qualifying for our freedom. By shedding our blood in a sacred cause we shall be paying the price of liberty and at the same time we shall be laying the only enduring foundation for our national unity. And last but not least, by winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time.

Friends! In conclusion I thank you once again from the bottom of my heart for the confidence you have reposed in me and for the assurance of unflinching support that you have given me. I warn you that though we are absolutely sure of our final victory we can never afford to underestimate the enemy and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is at once powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom—you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land.

Inquilab Zindabad!
Azad Hind Zindabad!

CHAPTER III

SUBHASH OPENS HIS HEART

A Mammoth Rally of Indians in Syonan was held on Friday July 9, on the spacious Padang opposite the Municipal Offices, and at this rally of Indians the largest ever held anywhere in East Asia, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia witnessed an overwhelming demonstration of the grim determination of Indians outside India to march under his leadership and to fight and win the complete Independence of their Motherland.

The panorama presented by the vast Padang and the imposing frontage of the Municipal Offices was a sight that will not be forgotten by those who saw it.

A huge picture of India adorned with roses with a large-sized portrait of Mahatma Gandhiji inset bearing the inscription "Welcome to Shri Subash Chandra Bose" decorated the platform.

The Padang itself was a sea of human heads as far as the eye could see and in the outside Indian Tricolour and Nippon flags hung down the entire length of the massive columns at the top of the wide steps of the Municipal Hall provided the most inspiring setting to Shri Subhash Chandra Bose on the occasion of his first appearance before the general public of Syonan.

For the first time after assuming control of the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army he opened his heart before the Indians in East Asia.

Following is the text of Shri Subhash Bose's speech:–
Sisters and Brothers,

Let me first of all thank from the bottom of my heart for the exceedingly warm and enthusiastic welcome that you have given me to-day. I am particularly thankful to my sisters who have boldly come forward in such a larger number to give expression to their patriotic feelings. From what I see to day I feel confident that in the coming fight my countrymen in Syonan and in Mali will play a leading part. What was once a bulwark of British Imperialism has now become a bulwark of Indian Nationalism.

Next I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British prison when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the clutches of the British. Having been in a prison eleven times it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there but I felt that the cause of India's Independence demanded my journey abroad regardless of the risk that it involved.

It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duties. Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of prison and in order to do so I had to go on hunger strike demanding my release. I knew that neither in India nor in Ireland had any political prisoner succeeded in forcing the British Government to release him. I knew also that Macswiney and Jatin Das had died in the attempt to force the Government's hands. But I felt convinced that I had a historic task to fulfill.

So I took the plunge and after seven days' of hunger

strike the Government suddenly and unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free, with the intention of taking me back to prison again after a month or two. But before they could seize me again I became a free man.

Since then I have travelled all over the world with out much difficulty. It is not yet time for me to narrate my experiences, since I crossed the frontier of India but I can tell you this, that if you were to read the story of my travels you would think that you were reading a novel of Sherlock Holmes. Do you think that if the British Government had been as almighty as many believe that it is, I would have been able to travel all over the world? That is why I have told the British Authorities that the power that could not prevent my getting out of India, will not be able to prevent my getting in when I decided to do so.

Friends! You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the portals of the University in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movement whether non-violent or violent with which I have been familiar. I may also assert without the slightest exaggeration that there is no nationalist leader in India who can claim to possess the many-sided experiences that I have been able to acquire. In the light of this experience I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India would not suffice to expel the British from our country. If the struggle at home had sufficed to achieve liberty for

our people, I would not have been so foolish as to undertake this unnecessary risk and hazard.

To put it briefly therefore my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. Without this supplementary help from outside it is impossible for anybody to liberate India. On the other hand the supplementary help from outside which the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality small, This is because the defeats inflicted on the British by the Axis Powers have shattered British Power and prestige to such an extent that our task has been rendered comparatively easy.

The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is two fold; one moral and the other material. Firstly they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured in the long run. Secondly they have to be given military help from outside. In order to do the first, one had to study objectively the international war situation and thereby find out what the result of the war was going to be. To do the second one had to find out what Indians outside India could do to help their countrymen at home and also if it was possible to obtain help from the enemies of British Imperialism should that need arise.

Friends! I am now in a position to tell you that both these objectives have been fulfilled. By travelling abroad I could see things for myself and could study the respective positions of the belligerent powers. Thereafter when I came to the conclusion that the defeat of Anglo-American Imperialism was assured, I conveyed that information to my countrymen at home. Then I was delighted to find that my coutrymen all over the world were wide awake and

were anxious to undertake their share of the national struggle. I was also gratified to find that the Axis powers and Nippon in particular were really eager to see India free and they were prepared to render any help that was within their powers, should the Indian people desire it.

As to the attitude of the Indians abroad I do not think that there is any man or woman who does not want India to be free and who is not prepared to help the national struggle, As to the attitude of the Axis Powers and of Nippon, if any body has the slightest doubt or suspicion regarding the Axis intentions. I can easily convince him with overwhelming proofs that outside the ranks of our countrymen they are the best friends we have in the world to day.

Moreover I can ask you to trust me. Not even my enemies will have the audacity to say that I am capable of doing anything against the interest of my country. And if the British Government could not demoralise me or allure me no other powers on earth can do so. Therefore believe me when I say that if you want any external help in your struggle against British Imperialism the Axis Powers will gladly come to your aid, But whether you do need any help or not is for you to decide; and it goes without saying that if you could do without any help it would be the best course for India, At the same time I should add that if the almighty British Government can go round the whole world with the begging bowl asking for help everywhere even from the enslaved and impoverished people of India there is nothing wrong in our taking help from outside, if we are forced to do so.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole

world including our enemies as *to how it is proposed to* bring about our national liberation. Indians outside India particularly Indians in East Asia–are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do-so, revolution will break out not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides from inside India and from outside it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.

According to my plan therefore it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of Axis powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will only do their duty, it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of their countrymen.

There may be croakers who will say that if 388 millions of Indians can not expel British Power from India, how can three millions living abroad hope to do so? But friends, look to the history of Ireland. Three million Irishmen living under British domination under a form of martial law could with the help of five thousand armed Sinn Fein volunteers, bring the British Government to its knees in 1921, why cannot three million Indians backed by powerfull movement at home hope to throw the British out of India when the aid of powerful Nippon is readily available?

I must however say that Indians living abroad and particularly in East Asia must put forward their maximum effort. In order to do so effectively it is my intention to set up a Provisional Government of Free India. The task

of this Government will be to mobilise all the resources of the Indian people and to lead the fight against the British Army in India. When the campaign succeeds and India is free the Provisional Government will make room for the permanent Government of Free India which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

Friends! you will now realise that the time has come for three million Indians living in East Asia to mobilise all their available resources including money and man power. Half hearted measures will not do. I want total mobilization and nothing less for we have been told repeatedly even by our enemies that this is a total war.

You see before you to day a part of Indian Army of Liberation-the Azad Hind Fauj or the I. N. A."

They held their ceremonial Parade the other day in front of the Town Hall. Thereafter they have resolved that they will not rest till they can hold their Victory Parade before the Red fortress of ancient Delhi. They have adopted the slogan-" On ward to Delhi-On ward to Delhi" ! Friends ! Let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be "Total mobilisation for a total war."

Out of this total mobilisation I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores that is thirty million Dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form the "Death-defying Regiment" who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi had wielded in india's First war of Independence in 1857.

Our countrymen at home are hard-pressed and they are demanding a second front. Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front a real second front for the Indian Struggle."

IV

ON TO DELHI

Subhash mostly concentrated his attention on the Indian National Army. Experience of years had taught him that without any army the dream of Indian Independence would always remain a dream. He also had seen that to nullify Japanese interference he required a bigger and a more powerful army. On the very next day he expressed a desire to be present at a parade of the Indian National Army and that day the maidan at Singapore saw a spectacle that reminded one of dream-land by its tender beauty and yet was so real!

On orders of Subhash Babu the Indian National Army composed of the pick of Indian volunteers imbued with the zeal of martyrs and determined to oppose Britain to the last took pledge to wipe out the two hundred years' old British rule from India, and to wage war against Britain for complete emancipation of their mother-land. The facts about their pledge were made known by a spokesmen of the Indian Independence League while making an announcement regarding the reorganisation of the army.

Then the spokesman read a communique issued from the head-quarters of the Indian Independence League and made the following statement on his own behalf.

"You have just listened to the official announcement of the Indian Independence League Headquarters, that the League has organised an Army which will be known as

the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army. You have also heard that this Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army has sworn allegiance to the cause of India's complete independence and the officers and men of the army have dedicated their lives to the sacred task of expelling the British from India and creating an India for Indians.

I wish to make it clear to the world that the Indian National Army has been organised solely by Indians and consists of picked soldiers from Indian Volunteers who have taken a solemn oath to achieve the complete indepandence of India by fighting the British and wiping out of India all traces of the two centuries of British Rule. They are anti-British in every fibre of their being and they are inspired by the spirit of independence. They have dedicated their lives to the cause of India's freedom; they have no thought of persoanl comforts luxury or profit; their one motto is " Freedom or death " to quote Mahatma Gandhi's dictum; and they are ready to lay down their lives in the fight for India's complete independence.

This is the first time in India's history since the advent of the British that a truly National Army has been raised.

The sole aim of the I. N. A. (Indian National Army) is to destroy the British Power and influence in India and to make an India for Indians.

As I said earlier the I. N. A. is a picked fighting force from Indians selected on the basis of volunteer system. The men of this force are burning with the anti-British spirit of independence.

The anti-British spirit permeates the entire I. N. A.; it is organised on a system best adopted to the Indian genius and is in tune with the revolutionary war which the I. N. A. is expected to wage when the time for action comes.

The training of the I. N. A. is also adapated to Indian spiritual and cultural heritage and Indian military traditions. A strong anti-British spirit and the spirit of independence are the bases of the moral spiritual training undergone by every single soldier of the I. N. A. from the commander down to the soldier, Their training goes on from morning till night. As soldiery the entire I. N. A. is bent upon beating British tactics and it is well trained and equipped so to do.

The uniform of the officers and men of the I. N. A. also confirm to the Indian Spirit, Indian genius and Indian environments.

The British have been ruling over India by sedulously following their policy of "Divide and Rule". They carried this policy in to the Indian Army also thus keeping alive the difference of race and religion in the Indian Army and thus preventing the growth of National consciousness in the Army. Fully realising the diabolical nature of this "Divide and Rule" policy of the British the organisers of the Indian National Army have laid the axe at the very root of this traditions. All distinctions of class, caste creed and religion have been abolished in the Indian National Army which has been organised on truly National lines. There are no water-tight compartments based on the religious faiths of the members of the I. N. A. Every

man of the I. N. A. feels that he is an Indian first and Indian last. His goal is liberation of India from British rule; and his motto is unity, faith and sacrifice.

The officers and men of I. N. A. are undergoing an intensive training course of enlightenment and culture to fit them spiritually for the sacred task before them.

Spartan living is one of the marked features of the I. N. A. and Indian manners and customs have been given an honoured place in the general conduct of the I. N. A.

To wipe out every trace of denationalisation deliberately fostered by the British by the compulsory use of English language and to establish strong bonds of affinity between the officers and men, the Indian language has been adopted as the medium of communication between officers and men at the barracks and on the field,

I would most emphatically stress once again that the I. N. A. is entirely of the Indians and for the Indians. And only task to which the I. N. A. has solemnly decided itself is the winning of India's complete independence.

Nippon has repeatedly pledged all-out aid to India to achieve her complete independence free from any foreign control or interference.

In confirmity with this pledge the relations between the I. N. A. and the Nippon Army are those of two allied armies."

The last one week has been crowded with memorable events for the I. N. A. The air was surcharged with emotion when Shri Subhash Chandra Bose on July 2nd stepped off the plane from Tokyo at the air Port in Syonan and for the first time saw with his own eyes India's

army of liberation drawn up on the court-yard to provide him with a guard of honour. Those assembled at the court-yard were conscious that they were witnessing a historical event in India's struggle for independence. And Shri Subhash Bose himself was overcome with emotion when he addressed a few words to the..." Azad Hind Fauj " (Soldiers of Free India) and confessed to them that, that day was a historic day in his life. " The only thing that we have been lacking so far in our fight for independence is armed force to fight against the British. You patriotic warriors have come forward and provided that armed force " he said, " let us all march forward together ready to lay down cur lives and thus win the freedom of our Motherland," he concluded.

And the men of I. N. A. gave their solemn pledge and assurance to Shri Subhash Bose by giving him three resounding cheers.

That was the first meeting of the man of the hour, and the Army for which he has been waiting; that was the first meeting between the man and the army which has been awaiting him.

Then again when Shri Subhash Bose formally assumed the leadership of the Freedom Movement, and became President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia on July 4th. The Chief representative of the I. N. A. welcomed Shri Subhash on behalf of the army and assured him of unswearing allegiance and steadfast loyalty to the caue of India's Freedom. Thus close bonds were soon established between the Leader and his fighting men.

As President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose took the salute at a parade of the Indian National Army on the padang opposite the Syonan Municipal office on July 5th.

Representative detachments of the I. N. A. took up their positions on the padang an hour before the parade was due. Looking smart and agile in his khaki uniform and cap Shri Subhash Chandra Bose accompanied by an I. N. A. bodyguard with fixed bayonets, arrived at the parade punctually at 10.30 a. m., whereupon the troops presented arms and bugle sounded. The President then ascended the steps of the Rostrum and from there surveyed the serried ranks of the man who have sworn to sacrifice their lives in the fight for India's freedom. What was an emerald-green lawn barely an hour ago was now a forest of bayonets-bayonets held in the hands of patriotic Indian warriors, to pitch against British bayonets that are holding down India in slavery.

Shri Subhash Bose's heart must have swelled up with pride at the sight of this Army of Liberation.

Led by the chiefs of the Army, and accompanied by Shri Rash Behari Bose, his supreme adviser Shri Subhash Bose then inspected the army, after which he returned to the Rostrum and delivered a stirring message to the officers and men. Thunderous shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad", "Azad Hind Zindabad" "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" raised by the Indian warriors massed on the padang punctuated the President's address to the army.

His opening words to the men electrified the entire atmosphere. Addressing them as "Soldiers of India's Army

of liberation and my comrades". Shri Subhash said, "Today is the proudest day of my life". This Army... India's Army of liberation has now been drawn up on the battlefield of Singapore–which was once the bulwark of the British Empire." Speaking on the certain collapse of the British Empire he said: "Standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire...even a child is convinced that the all mighty British Emprie is already a thing of the past". The enthusiasm of the assembled soldiers and civilians rose to fever pitch when Shri Bose said:" In the 1939 campaign the one cry of the German soldiers was: "To Paris. To Paris' and in the Malayan campaign of 1941, the one cry that rose from the lips of Nippon soldiers was 'To Singapore To Singapore.' Comrades, My soldiers ! let your battlecry be: "To Delhi To Delhi" The frenzied cheering that followed, lasted for minutes.

To the men he said "With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then when India is free you will have to organise the Army of free India whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time to come.

Addressing himself to the officers, Shri Subhash Bose said, "Remember always that Officers can make and unmake any army. Remember too that the British have suffered defeats on so many fronts, largely because of worthless officers. And remember also that out of your ranks will be borne the future General Staff of the future Army of Free India."

The President's inspiring words made a profound impression on the officers and men of "India's Army of Liberation."

After the address the President took salute at the march-past that followed. The procession of India's Soldiers of Freedom was led by a long line of mechanised units, proudly flying the Indian National Tricolour followed by the march past of the infantry men in smart turn-out, proud and erect, buoyant with confidence, firm in faith, ready to lay down their lives in the cause of their Motherland, men who know no distinction of caste or creed, men who think of themselves only as Indians, men whose only thought is of India and her liberation.

V

SIGNS OF NEW AWAKENING

We have seen that after the arrival of Subhash Babu from Germany a new life was instilled in the hearts of Indians in East Asia. His very name was a fresh hope and inspiration to the people. The knowledge of his presence in their midst worked like magic. We know that within the first week of his coming Subhash had already established direct contact with the I. I. League and the I. N. A. but he had no time to meet people in a public meeting, At last on the evening of 10th July a huge public meeting was arranged in the open grounds opposite the Municipal office at Shyonan, which was attended by over 50,000 people.

This meeting was unprecedented in the history of the Indians in East Asia. So unbounded was their joy and enthusiasm that hours before the scheduled time of the meeting tens of thousands of people-men women and children-flocked to the Maidan. Great walls of the Municipal Hall were decorated with tri-colour flags. The dias also was beautifully decorated and great portraits of Mother-India and Mahatma Gandhi were seen hanging on the platform. Among the distinguished persons sitting on the dias were the big Nippon officers of high rank, the Director of the Military Beureau of I. N. A. the Commander of the Army and chief delegates from the different parts of East Asia.

When Subhash Babu's car appeared he was warmly

received and cheered with the prolonged cries of 'Subhash Babu Ki Jai'. After the flag salutation ceremony was over Subhash Babu took his seat upon a chair on the specially erected rostrum. He was profusely garlanded and flowers of beautiful colours were showered upon him. Then the chiefs of the various Branches of the I. N. A, came forward one by the one and solemnly took their oath of fidelity. At the end of all this ceremony Subhash Babu rose and addressed his first public meeting in East Asia.

Hardly had he finished half of his speech when the rain began to pour. But even the heavy rain could not disturb the people. Every soul-men women and children, even mothers with babies in arms stuck firm to its place. The speech was a clarion call to the people and the people in their turn responded whole heartedly, Subhash Babu announced his appeal of 3 lacs of men for the Army and 3 crores of Dollars. "Are you prepared to make sacrifices for your freedom?" he asked. "Yes, one and all of us are prepared" they echoed.

And in response to his appeal for money, donations were freely showered there and then. Within a few minutes of his appeal he got cheques worth lacs of Dollars. The following are some of them.

100001 Sindhi Merchants' Association.
100000 Mr. Hardayalsing (Messers. Jiansing & Co)
20000 B. J. Motiwala & Co.
15000 P. R. C. T. Chittambram Chettiar.
10000 Sanmukham Chettiar.

The full report of this historical meeting appeared in the 'Azad Hind' a newspaper published from Singapore in

Hindustani language printed in Roman script. It is an illustration of the efforts that were being made to put new life into the activities of the Indian Independence League by means of propaganda etc. The 'Azad Hind' was of the size of our daily newspapers. It used to give six to eight pages in each edition. I have given elsewhere in this book a facsimile reproduction of some of its pages. The Indian soldiers were taught the Roman script by the Britishers themselves and the I. I. L. took full advantage of it.

I reproduce here some extracts from the report of the meeting in original Hindustani so as to keep intact the force of the language and to give the readers some idea of the 'Azad Hind' Paper. (For further details, please see the facsimile reproduction). The report began with these captions

Qaumi Parwanon Ki Subhash Darshanke lie Beqarari
Barsat shuru Ho Jane Ke Bawajud Bhi Tamam Log
Netaji Ki Taqrir Ba Aram Sunte Rahe

"Shukarwar ko sham ke waqt Shyonan men Municipal office ke samnewale bade maidan men Hindustaniyon ka ek bahut jabardast public jalsa hua. Aisa bada jalsa shayad hi kabhi Purabi Asia men hua ho. Hamare naye Netaji Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose (jinhone hamari Lahar-i- Azadi ki bagdor abhi abhi sambhali hai) ko is public jalse men ek dafa fir pata lag gaya hai ki Hindustan se bahar rahnewale Hindstani unki rahnumai men larne aur apne vatan ko azad karwane ke lie mar mitne ko taiyar ho chuke hain.

× × ×

Is jalse men har mazhab-o-millat ke Hindustani ae hue the, aur in men harek mazhab aur aqide ke admi

shamil the. Yeh sub log jalse ki karrwai shuru hone se kayi Ghante pahle Municipal office ke samnewale maidan men ikatthe ho gaye the.

Platform par jo sahiban baithe hue the, unmen bade bade Nippon afsar, Azad Hind Fauj ke Director of Military Bureau, Army Commander, Purbi Asia ke mukhtalif hisson ke delegate, Syonan ke mashhur mashhur shahri log aur league ki auraton ki section ke leader the.

Hamare Netaji sham ke thik sarhe chhe baje ae, Un ke sath Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Director of Military Bureau, Azad Hind Fauj ke Commander, Lt, Col. Giani aur Mr. A. Yellappa the.

× × ×

Malaya men jama hue 50 hazar mard, auraten aur bachhe Netaji ke har lafz ko is ghaur aur khamoshi se sun rahet he-ke patta tak hilne ki awaz bhi sunai deti thi.

Netaji ke Angrezi aur Hindustani khitab aur uske Tamil tarjuma par haziron ne khub nare lagaye aur taliyan bazayin. Us waqt to hazaron ke zosh ki had hi ho gai jab ki Netaji ne farmaya ki jald hi Bartania ke Khilaf Hinustan ke bahar dusre mahaz-e-zung khola jayga. Ap ki taqrir se bhi badhkar ap ke labzon ke had se badhe hue josh, ap ke asar andaj lahzi taqrir aur hind ki jang-e-azadi men atam vishvas ne to hazaron ke tan badan men josh ki ag hi jaga di.

Mihwari taqaton ki Hind ki Azadi dekhne ki sachchi khwahesh par bar bar zor dete hue Netaji ne farmaya, "Agar kisi ko Japan aur Mihwari taqaton ke rawaiya ki babat zara bhar bhi shak hai to men ghair maghlub sabuton se use yaqin dila sakta hun ke hamare desh bhaion ke alawa aj wah is duniya me hamare behtarin dost hain ! Is

se bar kar main apko mujh par yaqin rakhne ke lie kahata hun. Mere dushman bhi mujh par yeh ilam nahin laga sakte ke main apne desh ke mufad ke khilaf kuchh kar sakta hun. Agar Bartanwi Sarkar mere ikhlaq ko nahin gira saki, mujhe dhoka nahin de saki aur mujhe apne dawon ke jal men nahin phasa saki to duniya ki koi taqat aisa nahin kar sakti.

× × ×

Is waqt barsat shuru ho gayi. 50,000 ka hajum barsat men usi tarah sunta raha, lekin un ka josh thora bahut bhi thanda nah para aur Netaji ne bhi apni taqrir ko barsat men usi tarah jari rakha. Unhon ne jari rakhte hue kaha " Main chahta hun 3 lakh fauj taiyar ki jae aur tin Karor dollars ikatthe kiye jaen."

Netaji ne apni taqrir ke Khatima hone pur puchha " Ap men se kitne admi Bartania ko Hindustan se nikla dekhna chahta hain ? " 50,000 ke hajum ne jawab diya " sab. "

This newspaper had powerful influence in the Army as well as in general public. It contributed very much towards the awakening of the people. Before we close this chapter we will reproduce one more specimen of a propaganda Article that appeared in the same newspaper.

Qismat ki Nairangiyan

Hamare Neta Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose aur Azad Fauj jo kabhi khwab thi aj hamare Samne asli rup men hai.

Hindustan ki quismat ne apna rukh badla aur Sjt. Subhash Bose dushman ki aukhon men dhul dal azadi ki khatir Germany men pahunche gaye. Ap wahan mauke ki intizar men Hind ki Azadi ke lie kari mehnat se kam

karte rahe. Isi arse men pichhle sal 15. February ko aj se taqriban derh sal pahle quismat ne purbi Asia ko Anglo-American bandhanon se nijat dila di aur yahan par Indian Independence League aur Azad Hind Fauj ki buniyad par gayi.

Us waqt hamare Netaji Sjt. Subhash Bose Germany men the aur hamari Fauj Malai men. Netaji Germany men Hindustan par charhai karne ki koshish men lage hue the aur hamari Fauj Malai men.

Qismat ne apna rukh phir badla aur Hindustan ke Sachche dost Nippon aur Germany ki badaulat hamare Netaji, hamare sherdil leader Sjt. Subhash Bose aur hamari Fauj Malai men ikatthi ho gaye.

Aj ham kitne khushquismat hain! Ek taraf hamen rah dikhane ke lie hamare Netaji Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose hamare sath hain aur dusari taraf dushman ke khun ki piyasi quami josh men mastani aur "Delhi ko" "Delhi ko" ke na're lagate hue age hi age qadam barhane wali Azad Hind Fauj hai!

Kya ajab hai ki jis qismat ne hamen hamare khoe hue lal hamare Netaji ko milaya, aur jis ne Azad Hind Fauj ko janam diya, ab phir hamari madad karegi aur hamen samundar ke us par dushmanon ka khatima karte hue azadi ka parcham lahrane ki khushi bakhshegi!

VI

HIGH TIDE OF AWAKENING

The soil of East Asia had begun to smile as if after the arrival of Subhash Babu. Everywhere one could see unmistakable signs of unbounded enthusiasm. The feeling of fear and suspicion had disappeared. The fact that Netaji paid glowing tributes to Mr. Rash Behari Bose after his arrival was instrumental in removing the bad impression that many people entertained about him. That old man was chosen as the supreme advisor of Subhash Babu. The Indian Civilians and soldiers were mad after Subhash. Everybody found his spell irresistible. Even the Japanese were over-awed by his political stature. Everybody adored him for his sacrifice, his efficiency, his keen intellect and his power of decision. We hear from those who are conversant with facts that Subhash used to sleep only for 3 or 4 hours in a day. He was as if undergoing a penance like a Yogi, and yet that well-known smile of his was ever present on his lips. Those who had occasion to go near him were greeted with " Jai Hind " and got added inspiration from the few words that he spoke to them. He was always full of love and sympathy for all.

Subhash first of all took up the question of youth movement. Colonel Bhonsle was his right hand man in all the activities connected with this movement. It would not be out of place to make a fleeting acquaintance with that brave soldier—Colonel Bhonsle.

Colonel Jagannath Rao Bhonsle hails from a race

that has produced gems amongst men like Shivaji Maharaj. There is a small State named Sawantwadi in the south-west corner of Maharashtra. Fifteen miles from there, there is a small village named Tirod and it was at Tirod that Jagannath Rao was born in the year 1906. He finished his primary education in one of the schools provided by the State. Maharashtra has always remained in the forefront as far as the question of military training is concerned and true to tradition Jagannath Rao was sent to the "Prince of Wales Military College" at Dehra Dun at the tender age of 14. After finishing his course of study there Jagannath Rao went to England and found the Sandhurst Military Academy there. Jagannath Rao secured very high rank at the final examination of the Academy, which was a matter of great pride and joy for his people, who even organised a great reception for him when he returned home in 1926.

In 1928, he was sent to Quetta as an officer of the Lancashire regiment, but after a period of one year with the regiment, he was transferred to the fifth Royal Mahratta infantry regiment. In 1930, he was given promotion and was made Lieutenant at Conoor. There he once saved two British officers from being drowned in the sea and the King Emperor himself sent a few words in praise of bravery which Lt. Bhonsle had shown. In 1937 he was made Captain and in the same year he was invited to attend the Coronation Ceremony of King George the sixth in London. From the point of view of the government that was a great honour because he got an opportunity to go to Buckingham Palace in company with Indian Princes

and other notabilities. Two other members of his family are also recipients of the same type of honour.

While returning from London he toured the various countries of Europe and Asia in Company with the late Ruler of Baroda and many other friends. He also visited Russia America and Japan. When he returned to India he was chosen for training in the "general staff course". He had the distinction to be the first Indian to be selected for the course. After he finished the course he was appointed a Lt-Colonel in the general staff at Singapore. Soon after the War against Japan broke out he was sent to Singapore in charge of the Gurkha rifle infantry corps.

After the fall of Singapore he joined the Indian National Army where he held the highest post of the chief of staff.

His relatives are in Gwalior State Forces. He has got three brothers, the eldest of whom Mr. Amritrao is managing the ancestral estate at Tirod. His another brother Laxmirao is a State servant at Sawantwadi. He is an A. D. C. to His Highness. His third brother is in Poona. His wife Chandrikabai is a relation of the Rulers of Baroda, Kolhapur and Sawantwadi. He has got three daughters, the eldest of whom is 13 years old. He has been adopted by his uncle since the time when he was a small boy. His mother aged about 85 is still living. Prayer for the well-being of Jagannathrao is always on her lips.

The Bhonsle family is well-known to all the students of Indian history. True to tradition Jagannath Rao himself is a very great idealist. He is a linguist, knowing all the principal languages of India. He is an expert in all

sorts of sports. He is not addicted to smoking or any other habit. His life is a model of simplicity.

This colonel Bhonsle was the guiding spirit behind the youth movement of East Asia. On 22nd July a meeting of the youngmen of Kuala Lumpur division was called in connection with the convocation ceremony of the Kuala Lumpur training centre. Colonel Bhonsle was in the chair.

The meeting was called at the Selengor Club in the morning while the parade and physical culture drill were arranged at the Selengor Club of Pedang in the afternoon. A vast congregation of 15,000 had flocked there to view the first batch of volunteers coming out of the Bharat Navajuvan Training Centre giving an exhibition of the training they had received.

Lt. Colonel Bhonsle director of the Military Bureau of the head-quarters of the Indian Independence League took the salute and distributed the prizes to those who were successful in the sports competition.

It was a grand function and public enthusiasm was abundant. The Young men who had received excellent training at the Institute were cheered by the people who also watched with admiration the display of physical exercises and other training by the youths.

The Indian National Tricolour was in evidence everywhere and the Selangor Club Green presented a grand sight. The grounds were decorated with flags and festoons and the Indian Military band was in attendance—a novel feature which attracted large crowds of Chinese, Malaya and other nationalities.

Officials and employees of the Railways, P. W. D, Sanitary Board and other Government departments

marched on the ground in single file, carrying the Indian National Flag. There were hundreds of school children also carrying the national flag and the gathering was graced by the presence of a large number of Indian women. Many Nippon officials also attended the function, besides the members of the youth movement from various towns in Malaya and a group of students of the Azad School in Syonan.

The director of the Bharat Navajuvan Training Centre Dr. Laxmaiya thereafter read a speech welcoming Colonel Bhonsle in their midst. Many other officers connected with the youth movement also said a few words on that occasion. Col. Bhonsle gave a suitable reply and thereafter went to inspect a guard of honour furnished by the newly trained youths.

With a view to have some clear understanding of the strength and character of the youth Activity let us have a brief study of some important articles and other facts from the pages of Young India, a weekly magazine which was being published there.

The Malaya Branch had put into action the following plan for the furtherence of youth activity.

PLAN

1. Education : Free lessons in Hindustani and Nippon-go to be organised and conducted for the benefit of the members of youth section. The number of centres where classes are to be held will depend on the local circumstances of the case. Instructors should be engaged as full time workers on a maintenance allowance just as other League workers. At present there is a scarcity of Instructors and textbooks. With regard to textbooks the Malaya Branch

may be able to help. As regards instructors there may be many unemployed persons in up-country centres and it will be advisable for Branches to advertise in their local newspapers for instructors.

2, Parades: To facilitate training it will be desirable for each Branch and Sub-Branch to choose suitable parade grounds in their respective territories. The number of such parade grounds to be chosen will depend on the parade ground. For reasons of comfort and other personal inconveniences it will not be possible for all volunteers to flock to a particular centre for purpose of training. Every member of the Youth Section Committee must undergo training in the same manner as the Volunteers.

3. Health: The health of Volunteers must be well looked after. The League Branches should obtain services of an honorary medical adviser to conduct periodical medical examination of Volunteers.

4. Uniforms: Scarcity of material (Khakhi) at the present moment makes it impossible for any assistance to be given by the Malai Branch or the Head quarters. In view of this the only substitute we can think of is Khadder shorts, shirts and caps, if obtainable. In this connection, League Branches may render any financial assistance they can where deserving cases exist.

5. Discipline: Discipline being an important factor in the creation of an efficient fighting unit every member of the youth section must give implicit obedience and unflinching loyalty to the instructor and to those responsible for the conduct of the section. It is the duty of the instructor to enforce the strictest possible discipline on the members.

6. Flag Salutation: Every member of the youth section

must be taught to sanction.........(Paper mutilated).........

In spite of propaganda it is found that many do not still know the significance of the three colours of the Indian National Flag. It is therefore desirable that before a parade begins the Instructor should give a talk to the members on the significance of the Indian National Flag. The Members of the youth Section in turn to educate the public on this point.

7. Propaganda: There must be a Propaganda Department for the Youth section in every centre. League Branches must place at the disposal of the personnel of this department every possible facility to conduct propaganda with a view to organizing and developing the Youth Movement along proper lines. Young, energetic and spirited speakers should be chosen to organize lectures in different centres. As many mass meetings, as possible should be held in this connection, Any expense incurred in connection with the organization of such meeting should be met by the respective League Branches.

8. Enrolment Register: No enrolment forms as such are necessary. A register kept along the following lines should serve the purpose amply well:-(a) Name (b) Local address (c) Age (d) Height (e) Weight (f) Address (g) Father's Name (h) Places in India where he is intimately connected (i) Educational, Technical and other qualifications (j) Languages, Known profession, Previous services Annual Income (k) Family in...out of India (l) Signature of member.

(9) Pledge : The pledge must be taken preferably before a mass meeting accompnied by the usual ceremony of Flag Salutation etc. A talk on the Significance of the pledge and commending the Volunteers for their patriotism etc. will be an added inspiration to the occasion.

10. Attendance Chart : An attendance chart must be kept. Disciplinary action by way of extra parade, fatigue work etc., should be taken against any member who absents himself from the parade without proper cause. This is however, left to the discretion of the Leader in Charge of the Youth section.

Sd- Palanil......16-6-03.

The following two are the specimen of the Propaganda Articles that were appearing in the magazine.

"At last...the heavy load of anxiety that was ours over the whereabouts of Shrijut Subhash Chandra Bose has been released. To-day his presence in our midst has magnetized every one of us.

Subhash the idol of the Indian youth has taken up the leadership of Indians through out greater East Asia to inspire guide and direct our movement for the achievement of Poorna Swaraj.

No more discussion, no more speeches & no more vacillation, the stage is set for our final battle against our eternal enemy, the British.

" Complete mobilization, " so said Subhash. " Well, what more than this do we need at the present moment ? Pooling all our individual and collective resources for one single aim one single cause. "

Indian Youths ! Here is your leader. On to action, on to victory, on to eternal glory of our beloved mother-land, India.

" Trust in me," publicly declared Subhash at the open conference of the Indian delegates from all over great East Asia held on Sunday, 4th, July, 2603 at Syonan.

These words of a revolutionary leader one who is so

dear and near to us can not be in vain. "Trust in me." is pregnant with meaning. It signifies all things that we want. It is an utterance emblematic of a genuine patriot who wants to lead his followers to complete victory and freedom. It would undoubtedly leave an indelible mark in the inmost recess of our hearts.

Would there then be a single youth who would hesitate to follow our great marshal whose presence in our midst we were so anxiously looking for ?

Indian youths, the man and the hour have come simultaneously. Now strike the iron while it is hot."

"Never in the long History of India was a time more momentous or critical than the persent.

Suffering India now stands at the portals of liberty and national resurrection. We who are Indians must feel the surging thrill in our heart when we bring ourselves to think of the beautiful day when we will be permitted to take our rightful place among the free Nations of the world.

Every Indian, Young and old must realise by this time that our mother has suffered long and patiently. She has been many a time beguiled by the empty promises of a tyrannical and oppressive master. To-day the soul of our proud and beautiful mother has revolted, the revolution is gathering momentum and we are confident of the final issue.

Britishers in India had been given a fair chance several times to leave India's destiny in her own hands.

Indians, as gentlemen, had requested Britain to quit India but unfortunately the power drunk avaricious Englishmen did not understand the language of words.

Britain has always been accustomed to the use of force

& nothing can eject the intruders from this sacred soul of India but the bullet and the sword.

The present man at the helm of the British nation is an avowed enemy of India. His own words to the British people sometimes in the past fully justifies his animosity towards our mother-land.

" What we have gained by the Sword we shall maintain by the sword "

At her hour of trial and suffering Mother India is calling her sons to fight for her cause. She believes that one and all of her brave sons would unflinchingly rally to her side and fight for her honour and glory.

Sons of India ! Here is the heaven-sent opportunity to vindicate our honour. Let not the world say that we ran away from death in the hour of India's travail.

Every son of India must feel this war against British tyranny and serfdom a Holy Cause. He must realise that on our side we have the forces of justice as our allies and comrades and that in the end our cause must triumph.

It is the bounden duty of all young sons of India to bear the burden of the gigantic fight. We must march on proudly towards our final goal.

Many a time in the past we have given ear to British smooth talk. During the period of world war first (1914–1918) the British sang the song "Independence after the war". This they deliberately did so as to pacify the mounting revolutionary feeling of the Indian people, but unfortunately as it may seem we swallowed their gullible propaganda and sacrificed many brave sons of Mother India just to satisfy Britian's imperialistic ambitions.

When that gigantic struggle was over and Britain was

left with the sceptre of power, she wielded it agaist India and......maintained her ignominious hold over 400 million people.

They wanted us to believe that we were not in a position to determine our own future. They created through their own cunning machination and hypocrisy, a series of ugly situations and brought this as evidence against the whole world that India was as yet incapable of "Self Rule".

Through their goal they had set up factions and made India a home divided.

They had sapped the energy and sucked the blood of our country. Rifling the wealth of Mother India, Britain maintained her power over her entire Empire but in 1939, Sept. 3rd, the death Knell of this once proud Empire was rung.

Once more, Britain turned to India and to the Indians for her Revenue and manpower to prosecute her imperialistic war but the response to her plea was not as spontaneous as she had expected.

The entire nation was in revolt and Britain tried to sing the same old song "Independence after the war," but Indians refused to dance to the same old Jig.

The movement for liberation gained momentum and was assuming such proportions as to become a formidable obstacle in the path of Great Britain's war effort.

The Britishers thought that by incarcerating the men who held the helm of India's destiny in their hands, they could prevent this crusade for "Poorna Swaraj."

To the youths, India turns for help and we sons of a proud mother must make it our duty to see that the shackles of slavery are broken and Mother India given her

rightful place among the free nations of the world. But before the youth of India resolves to fight for Indian freedom, he must realise that untold difficulties and obstacles will be strewn in his way; at the same time, he must be aware of the fact that independence is not a fruit which when ripened falls into the lap or a gift given in a silver palaver.

The greatest of independence revolutions of the past were wrought with blood; and blood alone is the sacrifice which is demanded of every faithful son of Mother India.

The road towards our goal is strewn with tears sorrow and death; but is not this supreme sacrifice worth the award of independence ?

When the avaricious and tyrannical masters of India have been driven out, every Indian will be proud to say " In the hour of her ordeal I did not forsake my mother."

......And along with the youth movement a strong and all-embracing women's movement was also taking shape. Much preliminary work had been done by means of propaganda before the Ranee of Jhansi Regiment was organised. Women workers were trying to awaken the women of the land by giving them lectures and distributing leaflets books and periodicals among them. The daughter of the Japanese Premier Tojo also co-operated in this work.

The following are two articles, which serve to illustrate the method of propaganda employed by the workers:

Dear Sisters, last week, our revered leader Sjt. Rash Behari Bose, the founder of the independence movement in East Asia has brought us, to quote his own words a present. And it is...covetable prize too. He brought with him that proud son of India, Shrijut Subhash Babu. A

week ago we heard Subhash Babu broadcast from Tokyo. *Now he is in our midst and is happy to be once again near his own country and countrymen.*

On the third day of his arrival a conference of Indian delegates was held. During this meeting our beloved leader Rash Behari Bose voluntarily gave up his Presidentship and appointed Subhash Babu as the leader of the independence movement.

Sisters, it was really a touching scene to see our Rash Behari Bose, the father of the freedom movement in East Asia who had to leave his home and homeland years ago for the mere "Offence" that he loved his country and who ever since has been striving his best for its emancipation--when his cherished ambition was about to become a reality—handing over the child of his creation in the hands of another worthy son thinking his old age should not in any way impede the progress of the movement at its eleventh hour.

Only a magnanimous personage of our Rash Behari's calibre will have the courage and generosity to cast away so gladly such a covetable position in the interest of his country. Sisters, words are inadequate to express our appreciation of such a noble gesture on the part of our dear Rash Behari Bose.

And what a choicest present he has made to us; can any one of us dream of having a better one ? No, a thousand time no. And this noble son of India who has dedicated his life for his country's cause was only too glad to accept the honour so kindly bestowed on him. Subhash Babu in an interesting and inspiring speech in Hindustani, proclaimed his future plan. His intention of forming a

Provisional Government of Free India, to mobilise all available man power and material resources, will soon be put into practice.

Sisters, events are taking such rapid strides that no one can say what may happen the next moment. The days of our dreaming and sitting with vogue expectations have gone. Shortly we will have to face facts and march towards our goal. And in this struggle let us have only one aim that is as Subhash Babu said, " To reach New Delhi " like the Germans and Nippon-jin whose aims were to reach Paris and Singapore respectively, "

" Dear Sisters, it was an August 8th 2602 that our revered leader Mahatmaji started his final " Open rebellion " with the motto " Do or Die " Ever since, we have seen that our nationalists have made life impossible for the British in India.

The British started a ruthless campaign of oppression to cowdown the nation. But the spirit that was spurred in us by our revered leader could not be crushed by the dastardly methods of the British. They bombed, flogged, imprisoned and in some cases murdered in cold blood our nationalists. But these were of no avail.

Sisters, through out the epic struggle of our nation we find that our women-folk always played a very prominent part.

They have fought side by side with our brother nationalist fighters and shared equally their sorrows and sufferings.

From the cosy kitchen corners they never hasitated to court the prison cells, Many of them sacrificed their

lives in prison, subjected themselves to Lathi blows and other inhuman acts of the British. The latest news we have is the release of Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sister of Jawaharlal Nehru shattered in health.

The British are trying to crush the whole Nehru family one by one; Jawharlal's father and mother were killed by the British and the rest of the family are now rotting in prison. How many such brothers and sisters are sacrificing their lives for the liberation of our mother country ?

Is it not yet time for us to do our bit ? How long are we going to be mere onlookers ?

No sisters, the British will never leave our mother land India of their own accord. We have to whip them out. India is the last hope of the drowning British, and they will desperately cling to it. We have to drive them out if we are to be free.

Our brothers have started in East Asia a movement to help freedom fighters in India to drive the British. We have the backing of the powerful Nipponese, our Asiatic brothers who have pledged whole hearted support to our movement.

Seldom we can get such a golden opportunity to crush our enemy. Therefore sisters, let us rally round our brothers and do our bit to help them.

You know that a women's section of the Independence League has been started throughout Malaya.

I appeal nay I beseech every one of my sisters to come forward and avail her-self of this opportunity to give our active support in the cause of freedom of our Motherland.

I know that most of us have our own domestic difficulties to spare any time for any active work. But that is no excuse. We will have such worries always and we are only going to add more as long as we are a subject nation.

Our sisters in India also have the same troubles but they do not shirk their responsibilities. Let us show that we are of the same calibre.

Even now we are late, but better late than never."

VII

WOMEN TAKE UP CUDGELS

The Rani of Jhansi Regiment of Indian National Army is now in the making; and scores of Indian women here have already enlisted themselves in the newly organised Women's Corps.

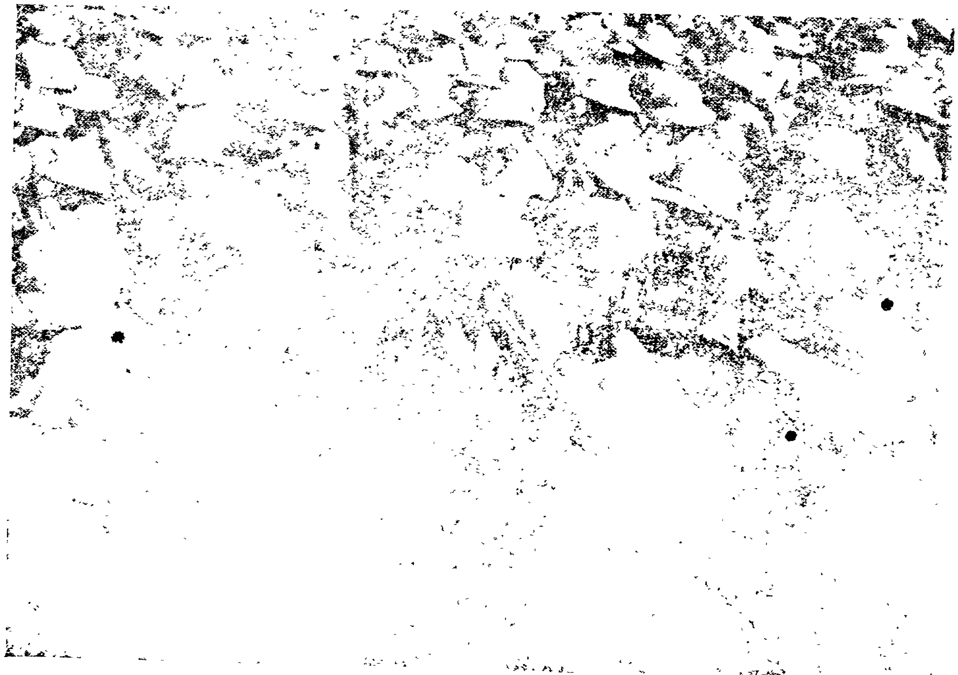
Historic events connected with the formation of the Jhansi Regiment took place on Monday last at a meeting of Indian women in Syonan under the auspices of the women's section of the Indian Independence League. The meeting was held in honour of Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose President of the I. I. L. and supreme Commander of the National Army who addressed a stirring appeal to the gathering of Indian women.

Recalling the heroic role played by the Rani of Jhansi in Indian's first war of Independence in 1857, Netaji declared that in this final war of India's Independence We want not one "Rani of Jhansi" but thousands and thousands of "Ranees of Jhansi."

And in one voice the two thousand women gathered there proclaimed their resolve to join the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

The following are excerpt-from Sjt. Subhash Bose's speech:

First o all I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart f the grand welcome that you have given me this afterno I am purposely calling it a grand welcome



To Arms! To Arms! The call went round all the ranks of th[illegible] I. N. A.



Strike up the band! Quick March!

Azad Hind Fauj Har Qism Ke Hathiyaron Se Musallah Hai. Yehi Fauj Hindustan Ki Azadi Ka Mazbut Rukn Hai



"It was one of the happiest days in Netaji's life"



And women also did not lag behind

because I cannot conceive of a more magnificent welcome than what you have given me this afternoon.

At the same time I want to thank you also for the great enthusiasm which you exhibited the other day when we had our Rally at the Padang in front of the Municipal Offices. Not only myself but also the other friends and guests who were with me on the platform were exceedingly impressed by the brave manner in which you stood the rain and inclement weather and remained at your posts till the very last. I know that some of you also had brought your babies along with you. Your brave attitude and your profound enthusiasm on that occasion have deeply impressed all of us. I have no doubt that after this good beginning your work will progress rapidly from day to day.

You all know as well as I do, of the part our women at home have taken in the Freedom Movement especially during the last twenty years. From the very beginning of the new awakening in India our women have taken a prominent part in all spheres of public life. But this has been particularly evident since the year 1921 when the Congress was reborn under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress Movement or the Movement of civil disobedience but also in connection with the secret revolutionary movement that our sisters have played a noble part.

In fact it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour in which Indian women have not played a prominent part. What is more there is no suffering Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared along

with our men in the course of several decades of national struggle.

Whether it is a work of touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is a task of lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is a task of carrying the Freedom message from door to door, whether it is a task of running election campaigns, or whether it is a task of leading processions along public streets in defiance of official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British Police, or whether, again, it is a task of facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, and insult and humiliation of every kind, nowhere have our women been found wanting. And last but not the least, our sisters, our brave sisters have also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. And they have shown that when the need arises they could, like their brothers, shoot very well.

If today I express my fullest confidence in you, in your capacity to suffer and to fight for the freedom of your country, it is not an empty compliment which I indulge in, simply for the purpose of arousing your enthusiasm. If I do so, it is because as a result of my personal experience I know that our women are capable of. And therefore I say without the slightest exaggeration that there is no work, there is no sacrifice, there is no suffering, which our sisters are not capable of.

The time has now come for us to make the last and final effort in order to achieve the liberation of our Motherland. Such an opportunity is indeed rare in the life-time of a nation. Certainly in our life time this opportunity will not come again, and perhaps not even for another one hundred years. I must say that it is the grace of Providence

that this opportunity has suddenly presented itself to us. And if we avail ourselves of this opportunity and make every effort to undergo every sacrifice, we shall be able to achieve once and for all our national emancipation.

Sisters! I hope, that each and every one of you has the fullest confidence that the time has come for us to make the final effort for our emancipation. I hope that each and everyone of you has the fullest confidence that the ultimate outcome of this war can be only the defeat and overthrow of the Anglo-American Imperialism, and it is only out of the defeat of Anglo American Imperialism that India can hope to win her freemom.

That is why I have always been asserting that India's freedom is bound up with the final victory of the Axis Powers. Today both the parties, India and the Axis Powers, have a common enemy, and therefore we have a common goal. We have to fight against the common enemy no matter what the sacrifice involved may be, and through our common suffering and sacrifice to win our liberty.

Even if it is possible to get our liberty without suffering, sacrifice and struggle, I am sure that it is not worth having because freedom that is obtained without sacrifice and struggle would be difficult to be retained even if we are free. Therefore, if you want to liberate yourselves from the British yoke and thereafter to preserve your independence, once and for all, if you desire that never again in history should we loose our freedom, then it is necessary that in the course of our national struggle we should acquire that strength whereby we may win, and thereafter be able to preserve our liberty for all time.

Therefore we have to pay the price of freedom and

the price of freedom is suffering, sacrifice and struggle. I have no doubt in my mind that we shall be able to put forward the necessary sacrifice and struggle, we shall be able to undergo cheerfully the necessary suffering, and thereby we shall not only be able to free ourselves from the British domination but thereafter we shall be able to retain our freedom for ever.

Sisters! the time has come for us to begin our final preparations for the final struggle, in right earnest. We have no time to lose. No one can predict when the call may come, when the march would begin. We must therefore be so prepared that whenever the call comes we should be immediately prepared to begin our march. As I said the other day, there is but one thought in our minds, there is but one cry which rises from our lips—that is "Onward To Delhi!" "Onward To Delhi!"

The campaign which will be begun here in Syonan, which has become the grave-yard of the British Empire, will end only when we drive out the British from India and occupy our Metropolis. And then we shall parade finally before the famous Red Fort of Delhi.

Sisters, we had one time conservative men amongst us who thought that women had nothing to do with the national struggle and that it was entirely a man's affair. I hope that there are no such men in our midst today. On the contrary I am convinced that until and unless Indian women play their due part in the national struggle, India can never hope to be free. And if I am so optimistic today of our speedy emancipation, it is because I am equally optimistic of the part that Indian women will play in the coming struggle.

If there is anyone either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask him or her to turn to the pages of our History. What had our brave women done in the past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the great revolution of 1857, which we call India's first War of Independence? It was this Rani of Jhansi who on horse back with drawn sword led her men to battle. Through our ill luck she fell. She failed and India failed. But we have to continue and complete the work which the great Rani undertook in 1857.

Therefore in the last and final War of Independence we want not one Rani of Jhansi but thousands and thousands of Ranees of Jhansi. It is not merely the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots that you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example. I have no doubt in my mind that when our countrymen on the other side of the frontier whether they are civilians or whether they are in the British Indian Army, see you marching with rifles in hand, they will certainly come over and join you and take the rifles from you and carry on the fight which you will begin. Therefore considered from every point of view, I am convinced that the time has come for men and women, for boys and girls, for every one, for every single individual who calls himself or herself an Indian, to come forward and make the maximum sacrifice so that India may be free and as soon as possible.

Sisters, it gives me great pleasure and a feeling of pride to find that you have begun so well. Your enthusiasm will be an inspiration to your coutrymen not only in

Syonan, not only in the whole of Malaya not only all over East Asia, but also inside India. I have no doubt that when the three hundred and eighty millions of our countrymen hear of your activities, your preparations for the final struggle, they also will be inspired to a great extent. I wish you all success in the work that you have begun. The work is your work just as it is ours. In this common work, in this common suffering, in this common sacrifice, in this common struggle, let us all men and women, boy and girl, rich or poor, young or old, march shoulder to shoulder and begin the final struggle and bring about India's emancipation as soon as possible.

The time has come when we must begin our work and the most important work, I told you, is to prepare for the coming fight. I have already announced before the whole world that the Azad Hind Fauj or the National Army has come into existence and is already preparing for the fight. I hope the time will come soon when I shall be able to announce to the whole world that the Rani of Jhansi Regiment is also preparing for the fight. This work must begin at once and therefore I wish that all of you who are prepared to join the Rani of Jhansi Regiment should come forward and give your names so that we shall lose no time in recruiting volunteers for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

IV

THE ORDEAL OF FIRE

BHARAT BHAG HAI JAGA

Subh sukh chain ki barkha barse Bharat bhag hai jaga
Punjab Sindh Gujrat Maratha Dravid Utkal Banga
Chanchal sagar Bindh Himala neela Jamna Ganga
Tere nit gun gae,
Tujhse jeewan pae
Sab ten hae asha,

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho!
Sab ke dil men prit basae teri mithi bani
Har sube ke rahne wale har mazhab ke prani
Sab bhed-o-farak mita ke
Sab god me teri ake
Goonthen prem ki mala

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat nam Subhaga
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho!

Subah savere pankh pakheru tere hi gun gaen
Bas bhari bharpoor hawaen jeewan men rut laen
Sub mil kar Hind Pukare
Jai Azad Hind ke nare
Piara desh hamara

Suraj ban kar jag par chamke Bharat men Subhaga
Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho, Jai-ya ho,
Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya Jai-ya ho!
Bharat nam Subhaga!

I

REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY

It seems possible that Subhash during his stay in Tokyo had made himelf conversant with the history of the conflict that existed between Japan and the Indian Independence League. It is also possible that he knew about the agreement that had been concluded between Mr. Rash Behari Bose and the resident Japanese Commander. Otherwise we cannot explain the swift steps that he took after assuming control. It seems that he had decided on a line of action even before assuming the post of the President of the Indian Independence League.

The first thing that Subhash did after his arrival in Singapore was to assume the post of the supreme commander of the Indian National Army, and to announce to the world that the army had been reorganised and re-consituted. We have seen in the preceding chapter how the Japanese commander had tried to oppose this move with all the means at his command.

Subhash's announcement regarding the reorganisation of the army gave a new fillip to the work of recruitment. The number of training centres began to increase and internal co-ordination began to be put on a more sound basis. The motto of the Independence League "unity, faith and sacrifice" came to be defined thus:

Unity: It is not enough to combine together in a body and euphemistically call ourselves united. The real unity is not in stimulating combinations; but unity in thoughts, speech

and deeds. To be united we must have one aim. one idea, cne decision, and one action for every one.

First of all we must be able to follow a leader capable of guiding us through thick and thin, always having the welfare of our motherland at heart without yielding to any propensities of passions or bias. As long as misunderstandings and fatuity prevail among us there will not be any union but perdition. Never let your prejudices impinge your duties as the sons and daughters of India.

Different men have different ideas and unless these idiosyncrasies and insular use are driven out of our minds they shall thwart us always. To have unity we must not become thralls to fanaticism. There must be a regular League and covenant of confidence among all Indians irrespective of caste, creed, age or sex. If we refuse to avail ourselves of the opportunities we have only to blame ourselves.

Faith: One must have faith in one's self and in the work one is going to fulfil. Never demur and flinch! Always consider and envisage that there is nothing that you cannot fulfil if it can be accomplished by another. Scepticism is an enemy that would defeat one if allowed to warm into cne's mind and thrive. It shall become detrimental, if one tries to do a thing without faith in himself or in his work. A thing started with full faith is sure to be successful. Have faith in your self, and it shall take you to your goal with great rapidity. One may be cleaver to do a thing, but if he has no faith, his frailty will make him indolent and he shall never be impelled to attempt to do that work so have faith in yoor self and in every thing you do, using your latent talent, bearing in mind that you can do it. Never quail. You shall succeed.

Sacrifice: Shall we stand supinely aside while an alien nation holds us in thraldom in our own land? Think of the disconsolate plight of millions of our bretheren in India driven to penury and inanition? Are we to remain indifferent to all the sufferings of our men women and children in our Motherland? Let us wake up to a sense of their suffering and sacrifice ourselves for the liberation of our motherland. We must sacrifice everything we have so that India may become free.

Everything we can sacrifice, for the achievement of the independence, shall be insignificent compared to the sufferings our men and women undergo in our own country.

Britain says she is "Fighting for freedom." What she does not realise is that India is doing the same thing with a better claim. The attitude of Britain in India is tantamount to the story of the camel and the Arab. If we become despondent and fail to sacrifice everything for our motherland, we shall always be a subject nation under the yoke of other nations. Wake up from your lethargy. Vande Mataram.!

THE PLEDGE.

The following pledge was prepared and all the soldiers were required to sign it. Thousands and thousands had put their initials on it some using their own blood for the purpose:-

Pledge: With full consciousness of the omnipresence and omniscience of God I declare that it shall be my solemn duty;

1. To help India to attain full and complete Independence free from all foreign domination by all means including military action:

2. To preserve and foster unity between the members and followers of various communities and religions of India:

3. To Sacrifice my life and property for the honour and interest of my country and at the alter of India's Freedom Movement:

4. To cheerfully bear all privations and troubles which may confront me during my connection with the Indian Independence League and neither I nor any of my dependents and relations expect any compensation:

5. To obey without demur the orders, instructions and advices of the Indian Independeuce League, its officers and accredited leaders who may be appointed from time to time.

6. To insist on no particular office or position in the Indian Independence League for myself and to discharge any work allotted to me conscientiously and faithfully;

7. To acknowledge the Indian National Congress as the only political body competent to decide the future constitution of India.

ANOTHER FORM.

Those who were originally prisoners of war in the hands of Japan but who subsequently were released and were asked to join the I. N. A., if they so wished, were required to fill in the following form over and above signing the foregoing pledge.

I hereby join and enlist myself in the Indian National Army of the Indian Independence League.

And I hereby pledge to make any sacrifice required of me for the attainment of 'complete Independence of India free from any foreign domination, control or influence.

And I hereby pledge that I will honestly and faith-

fully and without question obey and carry out all just and law-ful commands of my Superior Officers under whom I may be required to serve from time to time even at the risk of my life.

And I solemnly and sincerely dedicate myself to India and affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Indian Independence League.

Name.........................
Rank.........................
Unit.........................
Village.......................
Post Office...................
Tahsil........................
District......................

The volunteers were recruited for the Indian National Army in the following manner:-

Applications are invited from all able-bodied Indians men and women, for enrolment as volunteers in the Azad Hind Fauj, Indian National Army.

The training for these volunteers will have to be given by stages in a scientific manner. For the present the volunteers residing in Syonan will have to attend evening drills and in some cases, morning drills also. According to the progress they make, they will enter the next stage of their training after some time.

In the first stage of their training it will not be necessary for them to leave their homes or their present occupations, They are therefore urged to live at home for the present and attend to their normal work for the day.

Attempts will be made to arrange for the drills at a place not far from the locality where they reside or work.

It will be a breach of discipline for any volunteer to suddenly leave his home or his normal occupation until he is actually called up for whole time duty. This instruction should he strictly obeyed by all the volunteers.

By order of the President, Indian Independence League, East Asia the following have been appointed Recruiting Officers for the City of Syonan :-

Mr. T. K, Nair, Municipal Engineer, 49 Veerasamy Road.

Mr. B. Raj. Marine Engineer. Kaigun-Kokusyo, Jalan Kayu, Seletar.

Mr. A. Ramzan, 282 Telok Blangah Road.

Mr. K. Anandan, Chief Time-keeper, Naval Base.

Mr. T. A. M. Abdul Aziz 33 Arab Street.

Mr. Vikram Singh, 67 Sophia Road.

Mr. V. P. Abdullah, Indo Sinbun Sha.

Mr. P. Ratnam, 118 Race Course Road.

Mr. B. Govindasamy Chettiar, 169 Cantonment Road.

Mr. M. Rajaratnam, Ceylon Road, Katong.

Mr. Ameer Mohamed Khan, 276 Orphard Road.

Mr, S. A. Balan, 736-C, Florence Road.

Mr. Hardit Singh, St. Gregory Place Syonan.

Recruiting will also be done at the local branch of the Indian Independence League, Waterloo Street.

In regard to the above notice issued by the I. I. L. Headquarters concerning recruitment of volunteers for the Indian National Army, Mr. A. Yellappa, Chairman of the Syonan Branch of the League urges Indians in Syonan to

study the scheme most carefully and to follow very strictly the instructions contained therein.

In an interview with the Young India, Mr. Yellappa stressed that the call for volunteers is bound to create unbounded enthusiasm among the Indians in the City. But they would do well to realise that the training is to be given by stages and that, in their enthusiasm they should not suddenly upset their normal functions.

Mr. Yellappa drew pointed attention to the Head-quarters notification that "It will be a breach of discipline for any volunteer to suddenly leave his home or his normal occupation until he is actually called up for wholetime duty."

The League Chairman Added:-"There are thousands of able-bodied Indian Patriots employed in essential war time work in Syonan. Of course they are eager to respond to the call for the National Cause and they may be tempted to leave their present occupation immediately. But they should realise that the work they are engaged in, is vitally important for the Common War effort against the Anglo-American and that such vital functions should not be dislocated under any circumstances. Nippon's war effort they should know, is part of the Common War effort of India and all Asia; and wholehearted support for, and co-operation with, the local Military Authorities, is the duty of every Indian."

Mr. Yellappa concluded by saying that such people should undergo training during the morning and afternoon hours and meanwhile remain at their posts, ready to join up when the call comes from Netaji.

The Designaticn & Rank for I. N. A. volunteers were fixed as follows:-

Designation	Rank.
General Officer	General
Field Officer	Colonel Lt. Col. Major.
Subaltern Officer	Captain Lieutanant 2-Licut
Sub Officer	Sub Officer
Non Commissioned Officer	Havaldar Naik L-Naik
Sepoy	Sepoy

II

THE "RANI OF JHANSI" REGIMENT

The next thing that Netaji did was to organise the women of the country. He saw that time was ripe for instituting training centres for women. The first training centre for women which incidentally was started at Syonan had attracted only 156 entrants. Subhash delivered the following speech at the time of its inauguration:

Sisters and Brothers,

The opening of Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important and significant function; it is a very important landmark in the progress of our Movement in East Asia.

To realise its importance, you should bear in mind that ours is not a merely political movement. We are on the other hand engaged in the great task of regenerating our Nation. We are in fact ushering a New Life for the Indian Nation, and it is necessary that our New Life should be built on sound foundations. Remember that ours is not a propaganda stunt; we are in fact witnessing the re-birth of India. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our womenfolk.

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. The history of great women in India is as ancient as the Vedic period. The greatness of Indian womenhood had its roots in those early days when India had its Sanskrit culture.

The same India which produced great women in the past also produced the Rani of Jhansi at a grave hour in India's history. And today while we are facing the gravest hour in our History, I have confidence that Indian womanhood will not fail to rise to the occasion. If for the war of independence of Jhansi, India had to produce and it did produce a Lakshmi Bai: today for the war of independence of the whole of India to liberate 38 crores of Indians India has to produce and shall produce thousands of Ranis of Jhansi.

In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India as in the past will also produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood.

When in 1921 a new political life started in India thousands, nay lakhs of our sisters also joined the movement and came forward to make sacrifices. In those days it was a great thing to go to prisons. Our Indian brothers and sisters got ready to undergo the ordeal of prison life and I remember still how in December 1921 at Calcutta the two jails were full. The Britishers built two more jails and these two were also packed in a few days.

When the Britishers found that the Indians were not restrained by fear of prison life, they changed their tactics. They resorted to the method of throwing leaders into prison and using lathis and bullets against the masses. Joining the Civil Disobedience Movement then meant

willingness to face lathi charges and gun-fire and the Indians—not only men but also women got ready to face lathi charges and gun-fire. I cannot forget an incident in Calcutta when we held a procession against the orders of the Government and when the police tried to break the procession by lathi charge, some of our sisters made a cordon around us (coming between us and the police) without flinching to face lathi charges. Thus I have witnessed while in India how the spirit and determination of our sisters have been growing stage by stage.

Not only in the history of the Passive Resistance Movement but in the history of the Revolutionary Party also we have the examples of our brave sisters who have played a noble part. I know of many sisters who became daring revolutionaries. If one type of courage was necessary for passive resistance another and more active courage is necessary for revolutionary efforts and in this too I found that our sisters were not wanting. In 1931 an English magistrate was shot by two girls; the age of one was 16 and the age of the other was 17. In India even ordinary men will shudder before magistrates, but then two young sisters bravely went to the house of the magistrate and fired at him. You can easily imagine what wonderful courage those young sisters might have had. Such courage does not descend from the skies; it comes from the soil of India; it has its roots in the age-old traditions of India's past.

Since 1928, I have been taking interest in women's organisations in India and I found that given the opportunity our sisters could rise to any occasion. There was one Rashtra Mahila Sangh of ladies in Bengal which did splendid

work. In December 1928 a volunteer corps of 500 women was formed which was not only run on sound lines but their parades and their discipline gave us great hopes and confirmed my belief in the fact that given the impetus and opportunity Indian women could perform duties entrusted to them in a befitting manner. I have also seen women organisations in India giving training in arms available in a slave country like lathis and daggers and the way our sisters were progressing was remarkable.

And so when I began to undertake the task of guiding the Indian Independence Movement I felt that our sisters should also be given the opportunity to serve India at this grave emergency. I consulted many and I was told by some that though to raise a women's regiment might be possible in India it would be an impossible task in East Asia. What they said did not affect my conviction and my determination. And today you have before your own eyes what our sisters have accomplished. Their work has started in July and only now the training Camp for them is being opened. The delay is not due to any shortcoming on their part. The delay was due to our difficulties in finding the accomodation and making the necessary arrangements. Meanwhile, I know that our sisters were getting impatient and anxious. I heard that they were intending to lead a deputation to me to ask me whether I have forgotten them. I feel happy today that the camp is ready and the camp is being opened today on the anniversary of the birthday of the Rani of Jhansi.

I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight her age was only Twenty. You can easily imagine what

it would have been for a girl of twenty riding a horse and wielding her sword in open battle. You can easily realise what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that "she was the best and bravest of the rebels." He made this admission because Jhansi Rani's bravery was something which he could not hide, for he himself had to fight against her. First she fought from the Jhansi Fort and when the Fort was besieged she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up a fight. When she had to retreat from this battlefront she made an alliance with Tantia Topi, attached and captured Gwalior Fort and using that Fort as the base continued the battle and in this last and great battle she died fighting.

Imagine what amount of courage would have been necessary to carry on the fight inspite of more than one defeat. Yet this 20 year old Rani had the courage and showed a valour which shall be a source of inspiratian to Indians for generations to come.

Unfortunately Jhansi Rani was defeated; it was not her defeat. It was the defeat of India. She died but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranees and march on to Victory.

156 of our sisters are going to start their training in the Camp which is being opened today. But I hope that their number at Syonan will reach 1,000 very soon. Training Camps for women have also been started in Thailand and Burma but at Syonan we have the Central Camp and I feel that in this Central Camp we should at least have one thousand potential Ranees of Jhansi.

You have just now heard the brave words of the

Commandant of the Rani of Jhansi Unit at Syonan. She expressed their determination to work ceaselessly day and night to get prepared for the onward March to Delhi. I feel joyous at hearing that slogan "On to Delhi" from our sisters as I have been hearing it from our brothers.

With these words I declare the Training Camp open. And I would appeal to all the delegates present to carry my message to their localities and to make every effort to realise the programme I have now laid before you."

Subhash's expectations regarding the co-operation of womenfolk were more than fulfilled after the opening of the above-mentioned training centre. Women began to join the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in considerable numbers and the regiment was fortunate in getting for its leader a brave woman with a miraculous personality. After Subhash the name of that brave daughter of India–Miss Laxmi Swaminathan–spelt magic for the freedom loving Indians in S. E. Asia. Under her leadership the women's movement began to make rapid and considerable strides.

We can say without the least shadow of a doubt that one more name has been added to that select coterie of renowned women who have made history for India–Maitreyi Rani of Jhansi, Ahalyabai, Chand Bibi, Razia Begum and Bhawani to wit......and that name is Colonel Laxmi's. We inevitably think about her whenever we hear the I. N. A. or its Netaji being mentioned.

There is a saying in Sanskrit that beauty wealth or intellect either collectively or individually is very likely to make one lose one's head but in the case of Colonel Laxmi, the generalisation went wrong. God has given her all the three attributes in great abundance and yet she has managed to keep her head very much intact !

Colonel Laxmi is 32 years old. When she rends the air with the cry of "Chalo Delhi" or "Jai-Hind," we feel as every fibre of her being has become the living embodiment of yearning for freedom. The delicate and lovely lines of her face resemble the creation of some consummate artist. She has got a charming ring in her voice. She has a free and frank smile. We are reminded of delicate flowers when she begins to speak or opens her flowery mouth. If the riotous imagination of a poet were to come to earth in flesh and blood well it would not be much different from Colonel Laxmi. Her family is wealthy. Among relatives she has got a mother, who is a well-known congress leader of Madras-Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, one sister and two brothers. Her father was a leading Barrister of the Madras Bar of his time. Laxmi lost the protecting hand of her father when she was only a child.

Laxmi was very fond of philosophy, dancing and sports during her student days. Tennis and cricket had special attraction for her. Picture houses also were freely patronised by her. All this goes to prove that her student life must really have been easy and happy.

Practically all her relatives are connoisseurs of art, literature and music. Laxmi has enjoyed long trips through beautiful country by car. Once when she was driving her chocolate coloured car at *full speed a police constable* on duty tried to stop her. When at last the car came to a halt, the constable went to her and asked hesitatingly: "Don't you know the speed limit!"

Laxmi smiled and said: "There can be no limitations for velocity" and before the flabbergasted constable could say something more the chocolate colour car started and

disappeared beyond the horizon in a twinkling of an eye. Another such incident about Laxmi is also well known.

She was travelling by train in company with her mother and it so happened that the well-known Theosophist leader Mr. J. Krishnamurty was also travelling by the same train -of course in a first class compartment. Laxmi's mother went away to attend some other work after introducing Laxmi to Mr. Krishnamurty and Laxmi true to her nature went directly to that renowned missionary and asked: ' Why do you travel first class ? You should always be with the people if you want to cultivate their contact." That was an unusual question for the noted missionary. He hesitated for a moment and then said with a smile: 'Sister, you come and occupy my place I shall go and occupy yours in the lower class."

The incident looks insignificant in itself but it shows us how brave and undaunted Laxmi was even in her early years. Once when she was going to the club to play tennis her car turned turtle. It was completely overturned, yet Laxmi fully self-possessed, got up as if nothing had happened and taking up her racket proceeded to the club to keep her appointment with the tennis court. Laxmi was an easy-going person yet the love for her country and the yearning for freedom always burnt in her heart. After she passed her Intermediate examination, many youngmen came forward to demand her hand in marriage, but Laxmi willed otherwise. She aspired to be able to serve the wounded and the sick one day and so she joined the Madras Medical College. There she came in touch with a Bangalore Brahmin, named B. K. Ram Jundarao. Mr. Jundarao was an aviator and he and Laxmi flew about a lot before their ultimate marriage. This marriage surprised everybody excepting her mother.

Soon after Laxmi went to England in connection with her medical studies and stayed there for about four months. After her return, she broke off her ties with her aviator husband. Even today her first husband is working in the Tata Air lines. Many months afterwards she married Mr. Abraham, a Syrian Christian, who was her co-student in the Madras Medical College and who had gone and settled at Singapore. That was her second marriage. She passed the M. B. B, S. examination in 1937 and started practice in Madras for the time being.

Laxmi has got many well-known friends, one of whom is Devikarani the renowned actress. Pandit Jawaharlal has also visited her house more than once. One and all have given glowing tributes to the patriotism of Laxmi family.

Laxmi went to Singapore with her husband Abraham in 1940. She had gone there only for recreation but she stayed on there and in a few days became known all over the place.

No incident of exceptional importance happened in Laxmi's life till the time of the Japanese attack in Malaya. Inspite of the continued appeals of her mother and even though many persons had thought it fit to leave Laxmi stayed on in Malaya all throughout the invasion.

......And one day the world knew all of a sudden that Laxmi had become the leader of the Indian women of Malaya.

III

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Subhash was going on apace with his work. Branches of the Indian Independence League were fully organised. The army was overflowing with recruits. Each and every meeting brought Subhash good deal of money in some form or another. Japan was trying its best to interfere but this interference had ceased to give any anxiety to Subhash. He could successfully deal with it. The youth movement had reached its peak. The Indian womanhood of Asia was aroused. The tender hands that once used to be adorned with tender "Kangans" began to brandish the sword. The woman had truly become Bhawani.

The enthusiasm of the people had reached such a high level that they could only be calmed by a declaration of war. Subhash saw that time had come to execute the plan which he had announced on the 4th of July 1943. Subhash had also been able to gauge the ability of his colleagues who were doing all sorts of responsible work. There was no possibility of further conflict with Japan because he had decided the question once for all while he was in Tokyo.

He called a meeting of the representatives of the Indian Independence League on 21st October 1943 at Syonan. He announced the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India in this meeting. He delivered a short speech at this meeting. He said:

"As a student of history and in particular of revolutions in different parts of the world during 22 years of

public life, I always felt that what India was lacking in her fight for freedom were two things—a National Army and a National Government to lead that Army to battle. In the course of the present war thanks to the brilliant victories achieved by the armed forces of Nippon, it became possible for Indians in East Asia to organise the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army.

The creation of a National Army lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible as well as necessary to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freeeom.

In setting up this Provisional Government we are on the one hand meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation and are on the other following in the footsteps of history. In recent times the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last world war. And after the last World War the Turks under the Leadership of Mustapha Kemal set up their Provisional Government in Anetolia.

In our case the Provisional Government of Azad Hind will not be like a normal peace-time Government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organisation, the main object of which will be to launch and to conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India. Consequently only such

departments will be run by the Goverament as will be necessary for the launching and the prosecution of the struggle for liberty.

The Ministers will consist of a certain number who will represent the Civil Departments of the Government while there will be others representing the Armed Forces of the Government. Since the purpose of the Government is to fight for independence, the Armed Forces have been given a large representation on the Cabinet.

Besides the ordinary Ministers of the Cabinet, provision has been made for a number of Advisers to the Cabinet. In this manner the Provisional Government will maintain close and organic connection with the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilise all their resources for the coming struggle.

When the Provinsional Government is transferred to the Indian soil, it will assume the functions of a normal Government operating in its own territory. Many new departments will then be started.

With the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind the Indian Independence Movement has obtained all the preconditions of success. It remains now to start the final struggle for freedom. This will begin when the Indian National Army crosses the frontier of India and commences its historic march to Delhi. This march will end only when the Anglo-Americans are expelled from India and the Indian National Flag is hoisted over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi."

After Subhash's speech the following declaration was made. The declaration was signed by the members of the Subhash's cabinet.

"After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And in the pages of that history the names of Siraj-ud-Doula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Thampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab, and last but not the least Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib are for ever engraved in letters of gold.

Unfortunately for us our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857 they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tania Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate a while--but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War the Indian people in

their endeavour to recover their lost liberty tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people haunted by a sense of failure were groping for a new method Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example people were taught to suffer to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces they gave proof of their readiness and capacity to administer their own affairs. Thus on the eve of the present World War the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation......

For the first time in recent history Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation...In East Asia in particular over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx inspired by the slogan of Total Mobilisation And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan "Onward to Delhi," on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrasy

and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot. British rule in India has forfeited the good-will of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existance. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation......

Now that the dawn of Freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own and launch the last struggle under the aegis of that Government. But with all the Indian Leaders in prison, the people at home totally disarmed--it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad to undertake this task--the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of conducting the last fight for freedom with the help of the Army of Liberation i. e. the Azad Hind Fauj organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia we enter upon our duties with a full sense of responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of her freedom of her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about

the establishment of a permanent National Government o Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of th Indian people and enjoying their confidence......

The Provisional Government is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past.

In the name of God in the name of by-gone Generaticns who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the Dead Heroes who have beaneathed to us a tradition of Heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

The Proclamaticn was signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by:

Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army.

Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi, Women's Organistion.

S. A. Aiyar publicity and Propaganda.

Lieut-Col. A. C. Chatterji, Finance.

Lieut-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt. Col. N. S. Bhagat. Lt-Col.

J. K. Bhonsle, Lt Col. Gulzar Singh, Lt-Col. M. Z. Kivani
Lt-Col. A. D. Lokanathan, Lt-Col. Ehsan Qadir,
Lt-Col. Shah Nawaz-representatives of the Armed Forces,
A. N. Sahay, Secretary (with ministerial).
Rash Behari Bose. Supreme Adviser.
Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellapa.
J. Thiry, Sirdar Ishar Singh-Advisers.
A. N. Sarkar. Legal Adviser.

-October 21st. 1943

The next day Netaji visited Konan Club and delivered the following speech at the lunch which was held there on the 22nd October 2603, in honour of delegates from the Indian Independence League all over East Asia.

Friends !

I am very much pleased to see you all here today gathered from all parts of East Asia. It is also a great pleasure to see Lt. Col. Kitabe, Chief of Hikari, Burma amongst us today. I am very sorry that I could not meet you all before. You can verywell understand the reasons for it. Some of my friends have been here for some time but I am very sorry that I could not meet them earlier. I will however meet one by one the Chairman of the various territories this evening.

Today I am not going to give you a very long speech; nor is one necessary. I want to say that what we had been lacking so far was achieved yesterday. It is an epoch making event for India; especially for those who have been connected with revolutionary movement. A revolutionary

movement can be successful only by such procedure. The revolutionary-minded people can very well understand this fact.

Next I would like to stress that what we have done yesterday has placed a new responsibility on our shoulders. For discharging this new responsibility we must prepare for sacrifices and we can fulfil that responsibility only by sacrificing all we have. If you look at it from the revolutionary point of view you will reach this conclusion, that now we have got whatever we needed. In the first place we needed an army. That has not been possible in India but now it is ready outside India. In the second place this army needed a proper lead i. e., a responsible leadership (organisation) to lead them to battle and that is also now ready. And the last stage for us is to fight for independence.

Now we have formed a small Cabinet. It does not mean that since the Cabinet is formed the responsibility of others who are not in it has in any way diminished. The responsibility lies with all the Indians who want to free India. If there had been any more space in the Cabinet some more men would have been included in it. This I want to stress especially so that nobody should feel that since he has not been included in the Cabinet his responsibility is less. Similarly those who are in the Cabinet should not think that they have become great men and those who are not members of the Cabinet should not think that their status has been lowered. Those who are members must also work like others and those who are not must not think that they are in any way less responsible. Whatever we have achieved today, whatever is done today by

this movement, is the result of your combined backing. If there is anybody at the back of it, it is the Indians in East Asia. If it is backed by anybody it is by the Indian National Army. If our Army were not constituted. if the Indians in East Asia had not joined this Movement we would not have achieved what we are witnessing today. What was achieved yesterday was the last pre-requisite. Had I formed this Government before the people might have thought that it was all nonsense. And now even our enemies cannot say it is nonsense. I see this from the historical point of view. There is the Hand of God in it. In the last war also a similar attempt was made but there was not enough power behind it. But now in this war the conditions are different. If Japan had not started this war in East Asia and had not crushed the British this would not have been possible. I am pleased to see that we are taking one step after another on the right track for the achievement of our objective. Firstly the Independence League was formed then our Army came into being and last of all our Provisional Government has been formed. All things necessary for a revolution are complete and now we must be ready for the last phase of our struggle. In this war we need supply and money. I appeal especially to those who are civilians and are engaged in business to remember that no matter how long the struggle may be, they must be ready to sacrifice everything they have and undergo all sorts of difficulties and hardships for the cause. All Indians irrespective of caste and creed should stand behind it.

Before people used to think that only those who are actually on the battlefield have to fight. But in this war

the case is different. There is the "Home Front". This is meant for those who are behind the lines and in their homes. Those who send supplies to the front are also on the front. Both are national fronts. The only difference is that some are in the rear and some are at the front. Those who are in the rear must not think that their responsibility is less, but they must also play their part well.

We have to fight a long war and for that we require an army money supplies and other things. We must make up our mind to sacrifice our all till the war is finished. We have to provide to the Army money and materials needed for it.

In conclusion, I would like to say that in future our friendship with our ally Japan must increase. We have already strengthened the ties of our friendship. Wherever we are working in East Asia we must try to increase our friendship and love towards Japan. I am confident that Britain will be crushed very soon.

The Provisional Government was established on 21st October and on 23rd, Germany Japan and other nine allied Governments officially recognised it as the Provisional Government of Free India.

After the recognition the following statement was made by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose at a Press Conference, which was convened at Syonan Club on 24-10-2603 (1943):

With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and its recognition by the Imperial Government of Nippon, the second dream of my political life has been fulfilled-the first dream being the organisation of national

revolutionary army. Only one more dream now remains to be fulfilled–namely to fight for and win our freedom.

This dream also will be duly fulfilled–I am confident. Behind the events of the last few years, I can see the hand of God for history has been unfolding itself according to a plan which is clearly designed by a power higher than man.

The outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 gave the first blow to our enemy. But British rule in India was unmoved so long as there was peace in East Asia. After December 1941, howerver the brilliant victories of the armed forces of Nippon suddenly exposed the Eastern and North-Eastern frontier of India and completely nullified the military strategy hitherto followed by the British since the beginning of their rule in India. Fortunately in East Asia. the Indian community had a population close upon 3 millions. It was therefore possible to build up the Indian Independence League as well as the Azad Hind Fauj (the Indian National Army). These two activities made the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia a reality which nobody could challenge. These two activities also made it possible for us to take the next big step in the direction of Indian Freedom–namely the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India).

History proves that the technique of revolution has demanded such a step in the case of every enslaved country striving for its freedom. There are also several historical precedents for such a Provisional Government being formed outside the frontiers of the country. With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind

all the preconditions of success have now been fulfilled. It only remains for us to fight for and win liberty.

The recognition by Nippon of the Provisional Government of Free India is the greatest moral support that would be given to us by Nippon in our struggle for liberty. Moreover the recognition by Nippon of this Government is the most eloquent proof of the sincerity and straightforwardness which inspire the State-Policy of the Imperial Government of Nippon. I have no doubt in my mind that this recognition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by Nippon will have worldwide repercussions. As to the profound effect on the movement inside India of the formation of the Provisional Government and its recognition by Nippon I can safely predict that the world will soon see visible proofs.

In this connection I shall be failing in my duty if I did not pay a personal tribute to His Excellency Premier General Tojo for the deep interest that he has taken in the Indian Independence Movement and for the generous support that he has consistently given to it.

It is but natural that the Provisional Government should declare war on Britain and on the United States of America–the two countries that are responsible for holding India in subjection. The world knows of course that Nationalist India has been at war with Britain for a long time. Nevetheless since the Provisional Government of Free India has been formed for the first time such a declaration has been necessary in order to clarify our attitude towards Britain and America. The Indian people being the aggrieved party the declaration of war on Britain

and the U. S. A. is but a natural retaliation against the manifold wrongs that we have suffered and are still suffering at their hands.

In conclusion I shall only say this that the above declaration of war is not a propaganda-stunt. We shall prove by our actions that we mean what we say. I for one would never have been a party to such a decision, if I had not been confident of putting that decision into practice.

(Signed) Subhash Chandra Bose.

IV

POSITION EXPLAINED

On 24th October 1943. Netaji reviewed his activities and explained the purpose of the Provisional Government of Free India as well as the Indian National Army before a mass rally organised at Syonan. The following is the full text of his speech:–

Friends !

When I addressed you last on October 17th. on the occasion of our meeting to congratulate the Phillippines on its achievement of Independence, I told you that Burma and the Phillippines had become independent and that the next would be India's turn. Today I feel joy in informing you that the turn of India has now come and the Porvisional Government of Azad Hind has been established by us and recognised by the world.

When we look back at the succession of events which had slowly but steadily led to this important landmark in the history of our independence movement, we could clearly see that everything has been happening under the guidance and help of Providence. The will of God has been with us and if today the provisional Government of Azad Hind stands established, it is a Government which has been declared to the world in the fulness of time and fitness of things.

With the beginning of the present war in Europe our life-long enemies the Britishers received their first blows in the West and became weakened thereby. If they had

continued to receive blows in the West only the cause of Indian Independence could not have benefitted thereby. But when the Greater East Asia War started in the East our enemies received greater blows and became more weakened by one defeat after another. More important and significant than their losses in the East was the fact that a New Door—a Door undreamt of by them—was opened in East for the emancipation of India.

The British strategists had always expected a menace to India from the North Western Frontier. Little did they envisage the possibility of an Army of Liberation marching into India from the North Eastern Frontiers. They never dreamt of this possibility; nor were they prepared to defend an attack from this direction.

There is another interesting aspect of the question. Even supposing that the Britishers suffering defeat after defeat in the West had retreated up to the North Western Frontiers of India, even that would not have helped the cause of Indian Independence. Because there in Western Asia we do not have any colony of Indians. On the other hand, destiny had kept three millions of Indians in East Asia. And when the enemy was driven out of East Asia and the help of Asiatics was forthcoming, the material was there in these three millions of Indians for a Real bid for independence.

With the Britishers driven to the North Eastern Frontiers of India—to the Indo-Burma borders—a golden opportunity thus arose for liberating India and if the Indians in East Asia had not risen to the occaion even that opportunity would have been lost. But the Indians in East Asia I am glad to say did not fail India at

this Great Hour; they heard the call of the Times and organised themselves into the Indian Independence League and started the formation of the Indian National Army. A retrospective survey of the events of the past few years clearly shows that Destiny had prepared the stage in an undreamt of way for the Final War of Indian Independence. Things have happened steadily in the fulness of time and the fitness of things and who can deny when I say that by the grace of God, India's Hour has come, that India's turn to be free has come.

When I came to East Asia and took up the lead of this Movement my first objective was to re-organise and strengthen the Indian Independence League and to reform and stabilise the Indian National Army.

In my address to you on the 15th August I told you that I am determined to set my foot on the holy soil of India before the end of this year. I always mean what I say. Mine was not an empty declaration or a mere boast. Since then our preparations have been continuing slowly but steadily. You will remember the Military Review which took place here on this Maidan on July 9, and this morning you would have noticed that the Indian National Army which took part in the Review was far smaller than that of July last. I revealed in my address to the Military Review this morning that a considerable part of the Indian National Army had left Syonan already and that they were on the road to India. All our preparations have been proceeding in a satisfactory manner and recently it became necessary to take another and more important step, a decisive step in our march towards independence.

The question would naturally arise as to what would

be the leadership under which the Indian National Army would fight. And it was right time for us to clear our position. The world in general and Indians in particular had to be told under whose leadership the Indian National Army was going to fight and who would take over the territorial rights in India when the enemy is driven out. And so at the right time we established the Provisional Government of Azad Hind at the Conference of Indians in East Asia held on the 21st October.

If we had formed such a Government three years ago the world would have called it a farce; and the enemy might have called it a Propaganda Stunt. But the Provisional Government having now risen as a natural sequerce to the organisation of three millions of Indians in East Asia and the establishment of the powerful Indian National Army, even our enemies would have to think twice before calling it a propaganda stunt. The present Provisional Government of Azad Hind is not a plaything; it is a solid and powerful body having as its sanction the will of the three millions of Indians united as a granite wall by the Indian Independence League and having as its support the Indian National Army.

In forming this Government we have made no innovations because it has always been a part of the Technique of Revolution to declare a Provisional Government just on the eve of a Final War of Independence. Many examples are available in history for the adoption of this method. We have for instance the case of the Czechs and the Irish as well as well as the case of Mustapha Kemal who formed a Provisional Government of Anatolia before the Turkish War of Independence. By taking this step on the

21st October we have not only acted at the right time but we have also adopted the right method.

It is true that it would have been better if such a Provisional Government could have been established within the frontiers of India. But under the present circumstances it is not practical politics to have such an organisation like the Indian Independence League or such an armed force like the Indian National Army within the frontiers of India. And any Provisional Government declared within India without the proper organisation and armed strength would be a farce; it would be something which our enemies could suppress in no time. This being the truth and taking all the factors into consideration, patriotic Indians cannot but come to the one and only conclusion that the only practical path for the achievement of our independence is the path which we have now chosen.

In the proclamation of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the 21st October, I have clearly defined the objectives and limits of this Government. We are not a Government like the ordinary administrations established in normal times; and hence we have not followed the normal method nor have we opened departments which are essential only for the administration of a country in normal times. The first and foremost function of this Government is to wage the war of Independence and hence our Cabinet is primarily a War Cabinet. Secondly, this Government would undertake to administer the liberated territories during the transitionary period only. We shall continue to function till the last Englishman is driven out of India, till India becomes independent and law, order and peace are restored in Free India

and till a permanent Government of Free India is set up according to the will of the Thirty Eight Crores of Indians in India. I appeal to you and to every Indian in East Asia to read the proclamation issued by us on the 21st October and to understand fully the true significance of our Provisional Government.

I would also take this opportunity to emphasise that if a few have been elected as members of the Government it does not mean that the vast majority is absolved of their duties or responsibilities. For the sake of administrative convenience and necessity a few have been made members of the Government but the responsibility of the Government lies equally on all the Indians in East Asia.

Those who have assumed functions in the new Government machinery have not assumed any grand positions; they have assumed in fact greater burdens and responsibilities. The path of this Government is not a Path of Roses and very soon this Government will have its trial on the battlefield. You must not think even for a moment that there has been any elevation of individual position. If there has been any elevation of position it has been that of India and the Indians. Who can say that by the formation of this Government and its recognition by the world the status and position of the Indians have not increased in the eyes of the World? You must realise that this is your Movement and that this Government is your Government, and that your duties as members of the Indian Independence League have now increased ten-fold.

We have two great tasks before us. The first task is to make full and final efforts with a view to

cross the frontiers and setting foot on the holy soil of India before the end of this year. The second task is to continue our work and carry on our preparations for a long War. The retreat of Britishers from India would mean the final destruction of the British Empire and so it is only natural that the Britisher will try to cling to India with all their might. It is not going to be an easy affair to drive the Britishers from India but I am confident that once we are on the Indian soil we shall get the necessary help and strength from the Indians in India. The Indians in East Asia however should realise that their efforts must continue as ever till our final objectives are achieved.

I would once again reiterate that our programme of total mobilisation must be carried out with greater vigour as a sequel to the formation of our Provisional Government. I would once again repeat my appeal for men money and materials. It is the duty of the Indians in East Asia to see that there is a continuous stream of men money and materials forthcoming till we achieve final Victory.

I may say in this connection that my call for men to rally round the Colours has been receiving satisfactory response. The way young Indians in East Asia have come forward as volunteers and the way in which our sisters have responded to my call to form the Rani of Jhansi Regiment have been inspiring indeed. And about the offer of money and materials I may say here that the response from the poorer and middle classes has been encouraging. I have come across instances of the spirit of sacrifice among our poor brethren which would bring

tears to the eyes of even stone hearted man. A washerman came to me and gave his "all" and further said that as he hailed from Jhansi he would like to march along with our sisters of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment as their Washerman. A poor ill clad Indian who was a barber came forward with 200 dollars which represented his saving for years and gladly offered it for the cause. Especially moving are the sacrifices of our Gawala brethren. These brothers came, gave all the cash they had, all the cattle they possessed and offered themselves as Volunteers for the Indian National Army. The poorer classess have been showing by their actions and example the meaning of total mobilisation.

It is only the rich who want to know whether total mobilisation means five or ten percent of their savings. The poor have been spontaneously coming forward with their all and their ownselves. It is high time that the rich revolutionise their outlook. They should realise that when a Volunteer joins the ranks and goes to the front he does not ask whether he should spill five percent or ten percent of his blood. He goes to the front to spill every drop of his blood. The life of one such volunteer is to me more precious than millions of Dollars. What I would ask the rich to understand is that if they do not want to come forward to give their lives, they should at least come forward to give their possessions.

I have heard that some of the rich people have been saying that we are a nuisance and that the nuisance would be over when we leave Syonan on our March to India. I want them to know that though we may march, the Indian Independence League would still be

here carrying on our "Home Front" programme while we are engaged on the fighting front. We cannot spare the rich; we cannot spare any Indian because ours is a life and death struggle and we are determined to carry on our fight to Victory by all means and at any cost.

I have also said that some of our rich friends are thinking of changing their nationality to dodge the Indian Independence League's demand for funds. To these misguided friends I have to say that there are only two alternatives before them; either they must become true Indian and do their duty at this hour of need or they must say that they are friends of Britain and be treated as such. In East Asia, there is no room for Britishers or their friends except in Jails and the time is not far off when in India also their position will be the same. I hope there will soon be a re-orientation of outlook among the few rich Indians who have not satisfactorily responded to our call.

I shall now inform you of two very important decisions of the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and place them before you for your ratification.

There was a time when the Britishers in their propaganda tried to ignore or belittle our Movement in East Asia. Now they have taken it seriously and for want of any other tactics thay have resorted to abusing me from their Radio Stations. The tactic of abuse is the last refuge of the weak, of those who are at their wit's end. But it is significant that the enemy has realised our strength and he understands that ours is not a mere propaganda stunt. The reactions and repercussions of the establishment of our Provisional Government has been world-wide and it will be no exaggeration If I say that it has created

panic both in London and Washington. The enemy radio stations were rather quick this time in flashing out the news of the formation of our Government through their broadcasts. Meanwhile we have received the recognition of the Imperial Government of Nippon and this I must say is a historic event of tremendous importance. If this recognition was a solitary act without any precedent there could have been opportunity for people to question the bonafides of this gesture. But fortunately this has not come as an innovation. This has come as one of the corollaries of Nippon's Asiatic policy based on Justice and Equality. The world has heard of this policy. It has already heard of the Independence of Burma and then of the Phillippines and so the recognition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has come as the natural result of this policy.

The Anglo-Americans have been proclaiming from their house-tops that they were the champions of Liberty and Democracy but their actions have repeatedly given the lie to their claims. Apart from their determination to maintain their hold on India, they have enslaved independent countries like Iraq and Iran. They have been and are trying to enslave free Burma. In contrast to this we have the action of Nippon in recognising Independent Burma, Independent Phillippines and now the Provisional Government of Independent India. Our Nippon friends have always been showing us every sympathy and now by this recognition, they have rendered us the greatest moral assistance for which we are greatly thankful. And so, the Council of Ministers of Azad Hind have unanimously

passed a resolution deeply appreciating this gesture of Nippon. I place their resolution before you for your ratification.

RESOLUTION No. I

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) places on record its deep appreciation of the message conveying the news of the recognition by the Imperial Government of Nippon of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) expresses its grateful thanks to the Imperial Government of Nippon for the generous offer of whole hearted co-operation and assistance contained in the above message.

Syonan, October 23, 2603.

Our thanks are due to Premier General Tojo for his great interest in Indian Independence. We have to thank also Colonel Yamamoto the Chief of the Hikari Kikan for his co-operation especially in the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The next Resolution which was unanimously adopted by my Council is a more important one. The Council after discussing the political, economic and military situations in India came to the unanimous conclusion that the hour has struck for the declaration of War against Britain and America by the Provisional Government of Free India.

Last night at 12.55 A. M., we declared War through the Radio and it is interesting to note that at 2 A. M. the enemy radio stations also gave out the news of our declaration of War. This shows how alert they are in watching what steps we are taking. The Britishers know me well enough during my fight against them in India and they

know well enough also that I will not make a declaration without having the strength to enforce what I say. Our declaration is not again a propaganda stunt. The coming events would show that we meant what we said.

Before I place our Resolution declaring War on Britain and America before you for your ratification I would ask you to realise its implications and to give your decision after full consideration.

Our Declaration I repeat is not an empty threat. We are resolved to carry it out with the last drop of our blood. And when I ask you to ratify it I do not want to have the Resolution carried in a formal ceremonial way. Your ratification would mean that you are as much resolved as we are to shed your last drop of blood in enforcing the declaration. I know that I need not put this question to the Indian National Army because I know their mind and their deep anxiety to be on the Road to Delhi. I am now asking the Civilians as to whether they are one with us in making this Declaration because if they are one with us they should come forth with to give the fullest effect to our Programme of Total mobilisation.

Friends! I want you to realise that we are now taking part in a meeting which is not a propaganda show; this is not a ceremonial affair. We are here at a historic meeting to decide on a life and death issue. If we succeed in the project thirty eight crores of Indians will be free. If, on the other hand, as God forbid, we fail, for at least another century our Nation will be doomed to slavery and untold misery. I have told you at the outset how the hand of God has created this golden opportunity for us. I have shown you how we

have moved from stage to stage and how we have reached the Right Time and the Right Opportunity to strike at our enemy. I have told you how we now have the organisation, the Army and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind recognised by the World and how we have secured every help and support. Are we going to fail India at this Great hour in her history?

Realise all these things, consider deeply all the implications of a declaration of War and if you decide to take the War Path, if you feel in your heart of hearts ready to face anything and everything in the historic fight against the British, if you feel that you are ready to give body, soul and all to fight our enemy until victory is won then rise and give your ratification to our War Declaration by your acclamation."

This was the signal for an outburst of frenzied demonstration never before witnessed among Indians in this part of the world. The audience of 50,000 rose to its feet, wild cheering broke out, fiftythousand throats shouted revolutionary slogans for full fifteen minutes without a break; where fiftythousand heads were seen a few moments earlier was now seen only a forest of bayonets which stood about twelve feet from the ground, the men of the Azad Hind Fauj and Volunteers having spontaneously raised their rifles and rested the butt-ends on their shoulders; they stood there like that and shouted revolutionary slogans; the civilians standing behind them men women and children, raised both their hands and went on cheering their solemn assurance to Netaji; and on the 15-foot-high platform Netaji stood like a lion, grim and determined, witnessing this fever-pitch of enthusiasm.

Then the crowds broke the cordon; in wave after wave they advanced towards the platform where Netaji was standing and cheered him until their throats went hoarse.

Netaji continued:

Friends! My joy and pride know no bounds at having witnessed the outburst of enthusiasm and spirit of Resolution in you and your thirst for Independence. With this spirit premeating the hearts of the Indians in East Asia, there could only be one sequel to our Declaration of War and that is a Fight which cannot fail to end in Victory. With this demonstration of the united will and unified spirit of the Indian Nation it may be an easy victory over our enemies. The meeting is now over and I would appeal to you to calm yourselves and to return to your home resolved forthwith to make every effort to bring our war to a victorious conclusion.

I would lastly call upon you to give three cheers for Revolution for Free India and for the Government of Nippon. (Cheers)

MILITARY REVIEW

Speech Delivered By Netaji Subhah Chandra Bose At The Military Review On 24- 10, 2603

Comrades,

When I addressed you on this parade-ground on the 4th of July last I gave you the slogan. " Onward to Delhi". I am happy and proud to find that that slogan has been accepted enthusiastically by the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) and that it is now on the lips of every member of the Fauj. I am glad to tell you that since I

made the public announcement regarding the Azad Hind Fauj in July last the whole world-including our enemies-has come to know of your existence. The whole world has also come to know that the Azad Hind Fauj has but one aim namely the liberation of India, and but one destination namely the ancient red fortress of India's metropolis. I congratulate you on the importance you have gained in the eyes of the world and I am confident that you fully realise the great responsibility that has now devolved on you.

Comrades ! Today as I cast my eyes around me, I miss many of those who were present here on the 4th of July. But I am not sorry for their absence. On the contrary I rejoice to think that they are nearer to India than we are. I am glad to see that your hearts too are burning with the desire to advance towards the frontier of India. All that I can tell you therefore is that you should complete your training as soon as possible so that your turn may come next.

I must take this opportunity of welcoming all those who have voluntarily and with great enthusiasm joined the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj since I took over the charge of the Independence Movement in East Asia. The enthusiasm of the new-comers in our Army is so great that it has added greatly to my confidence and optimism regarding our final victory, Most remarkable of all is the enthusiasm among the women volunteers of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment who have just gone into camp in order to complete the final stage of their training.

I may now tell you that it is my desire to go on expanding the army and training new recruits, while those who have already been trained are proceeding to the front.

I am confident that we shall have a steady and uninterrupted flow of recruits. Consequently far from being frightened by the prospect of a long war, I am fully prepared for it if that be unavoidable.

Comrades! After assuming charge of the Indian Independence League in East Asia I was informed that the Army also desired that I should take over the direct command. Since then, I have actually taken over the direct command of the Army and I am satisfied at the results that have followed. The efficient working of the Army supported by the entire machinery of the Indian Independence League in East Asia has made it possible for us to take another long and significant step in the direction of our national goal. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind as a consequence has been formed. With its formation the Indian Independence Movement has acquired a new status and a new prestige in the eyes of the whole world and particularly in the eyes of the Indians throughout the world. What is most important of all is that with the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind Indian freedom-fighters have got ths leadership that they had been wanting so long. When the Azad Hind Fauj launches its fight it will do so under the leadership of its own Government. And when it marches into India the administration of the liberated tracts will automatically come into the hands of the Provisional Government.

With the formation of the Provisional Government all the pre-conditions of success have been fulfilled. It now remains for us to commence the struggle and carry it on till ultimate victory is achieved. The Provisional Govern-

ment has already shown the way in this matter. At its sitting held at mid-night yesterday it decided unanimously to declare war on Britain and America-the two countries that are responsible for holding India in subjection. The official order to go into action has thus been given. This order has now to be carried out by the Azad Hind Fauj so that India's liberation may be achieved through Indian effort and sacrifice.

Netaji's Speech At The All Malai Chettiars And Other Indian Merchants, Conference on 25. 10. 03

Friends! I would first give my hearty welcome to our sisters and brothers who have come to attend this conference from all parts of Malai. You have come here to take part in a conference, which I am confident will prove to be of great significance and importance. We have heard considerable assurances of loyalty towards our great cause and this conference is going to put that loyalty to the test.

I do not propose to deliver long speech because long speeches are not necessary. Firstly I would appeal to you to realise what each one of you would do if the responsibility of liberating India was on your shoulders; to free India is a responsibility which lies on the shoulders of every Indian in East Asia. And I hope that you will realise this great responsibility which has devolved upon you.

When an army goes to the battle field the responsibility of fighting and winning rests equally on every individual of the army, whether he is an officer, an N. C. O, or an ordinary soldier. Only that army will win every soldier of which is ready to do his duty. You must realise that the

Indians in East Asia have today become an army which has to fight and win. As in the case of every soldier at the front so also on every Indian in East Asia a great responsibility has fallen. I know that some of you are rich and some of you are poor. I know that some of you are educated while others are not. Whatever be your differences I want you to bear in mind that all of you are equal as far as your duty is concerned. I want you to realise this. I want every Indian in East Asia to do his duty.

When in an army some one is appointed as an Officer, it becomes his duty to go forward himself and to lead others to go forward. Syonan has assumed an importance in our fight in East Asia; the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League is here; the Headquarters of the I. N. A. is here; and only recently the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has also been established here. Syonan was once a fortress of Britain, but today it has become the Headquarters of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. Syonan's relation to other places in East Asia is the same as the relation of a commander to the troops of his regiment. The success of a battle not only depends upon the way every soldier performs his duty but it also depends on the correct lead and right example given by the officer commanding the army. You will thus realise that any voice which rises from Syonan will have its echoes all over East Asia; that any action which you take here will have its repercussions all over East Asia. The part which Indians in various parts of East Asia are going to play will greatly depend on the example which you are going to give from Syonan. I want you to remember that your responsibilities are

great because you have the lead, you have to provide the inspiration for Indians in other parts of East Asia.

I want you to think for yourselves and visualise what a Free Indian Government would have done when faced with a grave emergency like a foreign invasion. Supposing India was a free country and supposing there was a danger of an attack by a foreign enemy, what would the Government of Free India do? Would they not have started Total Mobilisation then? You could easily understand that this is the normal duty of any free Government. Keeping this fact in mind I want you to realise what your duties are in our great attempt to get our independence and maintain it.

Think also of what the procedure would be in a free country when it is in a state of war. Would there be meetings and appeals as is the case with us so far? No. A free Government, on the other hand, would issue only a call for all able-bodied men between specific ages to assemble at a certain place on a certain day and at a certain hour. And voluntarily and without any grumbling people will respond to the call. Why because people of independent countries know that they have to make sacrifices for their liberty. And when a free government needs money to defend its Independence, it does not proceed to hold meeting and start begging campaigns. On the contrary free Governments would prepare budgets of their war requirements, would think of ways and means to collect that money keeping in view the financial conditions of the people and straight-away proceed to levy the necessary taxation. I would ask you whether any man can refuse to become a soldier or to contribute war taxes

in a free country ? India is not yet free but we are free in heart and spirit. And by the establishment of the Provisional Government we have become a free people. Now it is our responsibility to liberate India and to establish a free Government of India. If we feel that we are fit for Independence, if we really desire Independence, we should straight-away live and act as if we are living in free India under the aegis of our Free Government at a time of a grave national emergency. Whatever we would have done in a free India in response to the call of the Free Indian Government, it has become our solemn duty to do forthwith. Look at the people of Germany and Japan and how in those countries all the resources of the people have been mobilised by the Governments. When it is the duty of a government to defend its own independence they have to do it at any cost and they have to pool all the resources of their countries. Legally speaking there is no private property when a country is in a state of War. The Government has absolute right over the lives and properties of its people during such emergencies. We too are a free people with a free government. If you think that your wealth and possessions are your own you are living in delusion. Every life and every property belongs to the nation when in a state of war. Your lives and your properties do not now belong to you; they belong to India alone. I have every confidence that if you realise this simple truth that we have to achieve independence by any means and at any cost, and that we are now a free people in a state of war, you will realise that nothing belongs to you, that your lives properties and everything are no more your

own. If you do not want to realise this simple truth then you have another path clearly chalked out for you. If you do not want to be and shoulder your duties as a free Indian living under a Free Government, if you do not want independence and if you are not ready to pay the price of independence, you have only one course before you and that is the path taken by the Englishmen. They lived as rulers once here but now they have only one plaee left here and that is the prison.

If you choose, you can go to prisons and keep company with the Englishmen. But remember this; when the war is over and India becomes independent you shall have no room in Free India. If the Indian Government condescends to take pity on you the highest act of mercy which the Free Indian Government can do is to provide you with third class tickets to leave the only soil of India and to go to England.

I have heard that some of the rich Indians in Malai are murmuring that I am harassing them. I want to have a straight talk with them so that they can take a straight path hereafter. I have heard that some rich Indians are thinking of changing their nationality to save themselves from making contributions towards the cause of Indian Independence. I have also heard that some are thinking of handing over their properties to the Custodians and of claiming them back after the war is over. Then again I have heard of people who are thinking of adopting a ruse of promising say a lac of Rupees, and trying to gain time by paying that amount in small instalments hoping that sooner or later we will be going away to Burma and then to India and thus they would be able to

evade payments But they are miserably in the wrong and it is not going to be so easy for them to deceive us and to shirk performing their duties. Whether we are here in Syonan, whether we are in Burma or in India itself our organisation shall remain here because it has to remain here to carry on its work till India becomes completely Independent and the last Englishman is driven out of India.

I would appeal to every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or a Christian not to fail in performing his duties. I know who are doing their duties and who are shirking them. I know that here in Syonan there are people who think that they were very happy till I came. But I do not care what you think because if I am asking for money I am not asking for it for my own use. I have to liberate India and I shall make India independent by all means and at any cost and I would appeal to you to realise that it is your duty too to shoulder the burden whether it pleases you or not. If you want to evade the issue say plainly that you do not want independence then as I have already told you a different path lies ahead of you. So long as you say you are Indians and you want to claim and make money in East Asia as Indians you cannot shirk performing the duties which devolve on you as free Indians. Do not think that it is left to your option to perform your duty or not. I have already said in my last speech in Syonan that I am making my last appeal. Today I am standing here not to make another appeal and I am not standing here as a beggar with outstretched hands. I stand here today representing the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which has absolute rights over your lives and properties.

I assure you friends, I am not one who is accustomed to tall talking or making empty threats. Whatever I say, I say after the fullest consideration and I mean what I say. Even my enemies know that I seldom say what I do not mean. I have said that we have to get Indian Independence by all means at any cost and that we have to carry out total mobilisation voluntarily if possible by compulsion if necessary. And I would reiterate to you that I mean what I said. I am speaking at length to you today so that you shall not be under any delusion, so that you may not say afterwards that you were not given the fullest opportunity to come forward on a voluntary basis. It will be an honourable course for you and I would feel proud of you if yon come forward voluntarily. But if you do not choose to coma forward voluntarily then we are not going to remain slaves on that account.

I am really surprised to hear that there are a few people who are saying that it took years for them to amass their money and that they have many children to provide for. If on this account they had refused to make sacrifices in a Free India under a free Government I would ask you to imagine, what would have happened to them ? Surely they would have been regarded and treated as enemies. You could either be a friend or a foe. Do not think that only the Britishers are our enemies. Everyone who helps the Britishers, everyone who refuses to help our cause is also our enemy because we are engaged in a life and death struggle today.

Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them would

live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a fres India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them. Let the programme of retreat be reserved only for Wavell and his army. Wavell's name will go down in history as the greatest champion of retreat. The British Government have given him promotions and have now made him the Viceroy of India because he has proved himself to be a past-master in the art of saving his own life by retreat after retreat. The I. N. A. has no plan of saving its life by retreat. When the I. N. A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilisation means 10 percent or 5 percent. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentage whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 percent of their blood and save the rest.

You could see with your own eyes the spirit which is permeating our young men who have become recruits and our sisters who have rallied to the Colours. Fortunately we are not short of men. The response has been so great that we have enough recruits to get prepared even for a long war. What we are wanting is similar response in money and materials. If we are all poor then we would be justified in seeking foreign help but there are also rich people amongst us and our foreign friends also know it. When our own people have ample resources it is sheer disgrace for us to stretch our hands to others for help. When there are brothers and sisters coming forward in large numbers offering their lives, I cannot understand

why those who do not want to give their lives are even grumbling to part with their possessions. What is money after all; compared with life money is nothing. Supposing a foreign government tells you that either you have to give the crore you possess or your life, surely you would rather choose to part with your crore than your life.

In the same way as youngmen have come forward to offer their lives the poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything they have. Poorer classes of Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty shopkeepers and gawalas have come forward with all that they have. And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers. Some friends ask me what I mean by the word "Total Mobilisation." These poor men who have volunteered not only their possessions but also their lives have demonstrated by their own example the exact meaning of the word "Total Mobilisation."

Some of these poor people came to me and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets but went further and gave me their "savings Bank books" which represent their lives' savings. Is there not the rich man among the Indians in Malai who can come forward and say in the same spirit "Here is my Bank book" for the cause of Indian Independence ?

The Indians as a nation believe in the ideal of self-sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of the Sanyasins and the Muslims have the way of the Faqirs. In our history we have instances of numerous kings who chose to become Faqirs for the sake of faith, justice and truth. Can there be a greater cause, a nobler cause and

Here comes Subhash the idol of greater Asia

The birth of I.N.A. Netaji its Supreme Commander is seen here heralding it over the air

the holier cause than that of liberating 38 crores of human souls and is there not one rich man who could come and say "here is my bank book" for such a great cause.

If you are not self-sacrificing enough to offer your lives, I cannot understand why there should not be even a few among you who could say, "Spare only our lives but we give everything else."

I shall now proceed to place before you the programme of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. In carrying out this programme we have to proceed slowly steadily and systematically as any Government would do. The wealth of Indians in Malai according to pre-war estimates was 100 crores and as you know values have increased since then. Usually Government make an yearly budget and when it is necessary they make supplementary budgets also during the year. I also propose to do the same thing. It is up to you either to come forward voluntarily in the spirit of total mobilisation or you shall have to meet the demands made by us, from time to time till the war is over. My first demand from Malai is for 10 crores of Rupees which would be approximately 10 percent of the value of Indian possessions in Malai. And as in this conference many rich people of Malai are present, I would expect at least one crore of Rupees straightaway and I hope within a month the 10 crores would be forthcoming from Malai.

V

THE HOME FRONT

War against Britain and America was declared on 23rd October and thereafter work was begun in right earnest for its prosecution. A wave of enthusiasm was discernible every where. The talk of war was in the air right from February 1942, but there had been ebb as well as tide in popular feeling regarding it due to particular circumstances obtaining at particular times, though the enthusiasm and morale of the people had never suffered a set–back. Then Subhash appeared on the scene. He assumed leadership, established Provisional Government became the supreme commander of the armed forces and declared war against the allies. How then could they be satisfied without actual warfare ? The soldiers were not only impatient but they were now straining at the least for a fight. Subhash also was experiencing the same sort of feeling.

Subhash had given a last warning to the soldiers to be prepared. during a speech he delivered at one of the rallies of the soldiers. Thereafter he had called a conference of the merchant community and explained to them their duty. He also explained to them the position of the I. N. A., the Provisional Government and its activities etc. He gave the merchants a true picture and demanded certain things from them. He even gave these merchants some advice which was in the nature of a warning.

Subhash used to get ten times more than what he wanted. He had seen that if Japan's help was invoked even if it be in a small measure, Japan's authority will begin to make itself felt in the wake of that help. He wanted Japan's good wishes and nothing more, He was as careful to avoid co-operation with Japan as was to avoid conflict He took care to see the extent of co-operation did not exceed the limit of exigency.

This was the reason why he had insisted on the training being given through Indian officers only. At not a single training centre. did he employ a Japanese officer. He used to get voluntary donations. earmarked for the expenses of his government and his army from the Indians residing in East Asia. He used to tell his soldiers that theirs was an army of revolutionaries and as such they had to wage the war of independence with empty stomachs. His own sacrifice bravery and renunciation had created such an impression on the minds of the soldiers that none wished to complain before him about grievances which might have been real or otherwise.

The bugles of war began to rend the air with redoubled vigour. It was difficult to understand and analyse Japan's intentions. It seemed as if it did not want to proceed any further than the borders of India. There was a vast Japanese army of 2,00,000 to 2,50,000 soldiers in Burma, but no preparations were visible for mounting an offensive there. Today we know that the apparent Japanese indolence had a reason for it. Japan was engaged in devising ways and means to counteract the American effort to capture air bases nearer Japanese homeland. It was also perturbed by the slow but steady advance of the American

General Mac Arthur. Japan had begun to concentrate its attention only on the territory which had come under its occupation.

But Japan was goaded into activity by the Britishers themselves. They mounted an offensive in Arakan, which ultimately proved fruitless, but which irritated the Japanese war lords and created in their bosoms a desire to infiltrate into India and invade its territory, Subhash was fully alive to the circumstances. He had measured up the situation thoroughly and correctly He had visited nearby bases as well as all the territory that stretched right across Burma. After his return from the tour, Subhash gave orders to his Indian National Army to be ready to start at any moment. Five Divisions were formed without delay and it was so arranged that half of the men who comprised these five Divisions were fully trained and equipped. They could be sent to the front at a moment's notice. They were completing very rapidly. Here it must be mentioned that civilians in considerable numbers had enlisted into the army.

In the first instance four Brigade-corps were constituted. One was the Subhash Corps. second was the Gandhi Corps, the third was the Azad Corps and the fourth was the Nehru Corps. The Subhash Corps was commanded by Colonel Shah Navaz. It was composed mainly of Pathan and Sikh soldiers and a few civilians. Its total strenght was about 3200. The Guerilla Army was also put under Shah Navaz's command. The Gandhi Corps was put under the command of Colonel Inayat Kiani. Its total strength was 2800. The Commander of the Azad Corps was Colonel Gulzarasing. There were about 2800

soldiers in it. The commander of the Nehru Corps was Colonel Gurubuxsing Dhillon. It was comprised of 3000 soldiers.

The activities instituted in connection with the war had expanded manifold. The Ranee of Jhansi Regiment also had expanded considerably. Various new channels of activity were continuously being explored. We cannot form a complete picture of these activities if we try to study them in their chronological order, because civil as well as military activities were being pursued at one and the same time. On one side the front at Imphal had become very active and on the other side the work of raising funds and expending them for urgent purposes demanded constant attention. Political questions as well as the question of the relations with Japan often cropped up amidst all this welter. So to facilitate our study, we should separate the activities connected with actual combat from those connected with other civil and military matters. Of course we would adhere to chronological order as far as possible.

The establishment of the Provisional Government had raised a question for Subhash. Should this government have territory to rule over or not? There indeed were Governments existing in this World–Governments, which had not even an inch of territory to rule over. Many European Kings who had fled before the onslaught of Germany were still maintaining such Governments but in the case of the Provisional Government of India a new way was found out. Japan wanted to convince Subhash Babu and all other Indians of its good intentions. She decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar islands which

were considered to be a part and parcel of India to the Provisional Government.

On November 6th, 1943, a conference of the representatives of all Asiatic countries under Japanses influence was called. Subhash Babu, the head of the Provisional Government of Free India attended this conference, not as representative but as a mere spectator. His argument was that if any representative of the Indian Government were to attend that conference. he must be a representative of a permanent and completely Indian Government. The Japanese Premier, General Hideki Tojo made the following declaration before the conference.

" Not only India but all Greater East Asia was, without doubt, highly invigorated by the speech just given by His Excellency, the Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in which His Excellency made it clear that the Indian people under the Provisional Government with the future destiny of India and of Asia at heart, have risen resolutely to realise their long-cherished aspiration to regain India's freedom, independence and prosperity.

As has been reiterated in the various statements already issued, the Empire of Japan means to give India every possible aid so that she may free herself from the American and British yoke and attain her long-cherished ambition. Now that the foundation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has been solidified still further and the Indian patriots under the same Government, bound in close units as never before, are firmly determined to accomplish their steadfast aim, I take this occasion to declare that the Imperial Government of Japan is ready shortly to place the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Indian

territory now under the occupation of the Imperial Japanese Forces under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, as the initial evidence of her readiness to help in India's struggle for independence.

The lofty ideal that guided Japan's national founding of enabling all peoples to have each its proper status and enjoying well-being has been and is being steadily carried out. The Japanese Empire today has heen strengthened further in its determination to extend all-out co-operation to India in her fight for freedom. Japan is anxious that the Indians on their part shall extend redoubled efforts in that direction.

From the spirited utterances by their Excellencies the representatives of various countries of East Asia at yesterday's and today's sessions of this Assembly, I note with assurance and satisfaction that these countries in concert with Japan, are extending every support to the cause of India's independence. I trust and hope that they will give even greater support to that cause in future".

After this declaration, Tojo dilated upon the theme of the greatness of Japan, as was his wont.

When the control over the Andaman and Nicobar islands was handed over to the Provisional Government the islands were rechristened. One was renamed "Shaheed" and the other was renamed " Swaraj ". Subhash Babu set foot on the soil of these islands for the first time on 30th December 1943. What feeling, what emotions must he have experienced on that memorable day ! An intensely emotional soul like that of Subhash cannot but be deeply moved, on setting foot on the soil that was free

from foreign domination for the first time, Subhash unfurled Tricolour there and after some time Dr. Lokanathan was appointed the commissioner of both the islands with sole powers of administration.

It is learnt that Japan continually interfered with the administraion. because under the pretext of war-time conditions they had kept their own police on these two islands. The police department was directly under the control of the Japanese. This could only be possible because Japan was a friendly State......and inspite of Japan's interference certain nation-building and beneficient activities could be undertaken. The work of propaganda regarding education was very efficiently taken.

One predominant factor makes itself felt in all the three main currents of Indian activity in S. E. Asia, viz, the Indian National Army, the Indian Independence League and the Provisional Government of India...and fills the heart of every Indian with pride. Inspite of the war Subhash had not allowed the cultural activity to suffer. Not only that, he had directed special efforts to start such activities where they were lacking. He removed the choke-valves which were throttling this activity at some places and at others, where the activity was already under way, took effective steps to give it more fillip. He was always mindful of people's safety their joys and sorrows, but his consideration and commiseration did not end there. He undertook the task of their education and development and executed it with astounding ability and efficiency. He saw to it that national schools and classes were established everywhere.

The war was to be fought on the Indo-Burma border.

and Subhash thought that the headquarters of the Provisional Government should be as near the front as possible. So the officers of the Government were transferred to Rangoon, on 7th January. It is said that a ghost of suspicion regarding Japan's possible attitude was to some extent responsible for this decision. Japan did not want the Indian army to enter first in India but Subhash Babu naturally willed otherwise. He wanted only Indians to march into India.

After the establishment of the headquarters of the Provisional Government in Rangoon, the activities of the Indians recieved a new impetus. India was looming large on the horizon. Just beyond the sea was the dear land that was India. The same holy land was lurking behind those blue mountains and the green clusters of trees. Subhash was now impatient to reach there to kiss the dust of that holy land.

The Indian National Army was strange in its constitution. There were merchants-Banias and Brahmins in it. There were women and even children in it. After the inception of the Ranee of Jhansi Regiment a children's army was also organised, and the feats of that army astounded even the gorwn-ups. The Children worked as messengers and as propagandists. The freedom-loving youngsters flocked at all the recruiting centres. Organisers found it difficult to accommodate the war-intoxicated youth in the training centres. The Camps for soldiers were overflowing. The exercises were very gruelling. War was to be fought in the Jungles and in the mountains. The soldiers had to carry all their kit over and above their arms and ammunition. They had to travel miles on foot, but nobody ever felt exhausted.

nobody ever deserted. The flowers were as if tranformed into hard stones.

All used to take their meals in a common kitchen, at a common table. Even Subhash Babu himself was not an exception to this rule. All got the same type of food. There was no difference between a Hindu and a Muslim there, in fact nobody even thought that such differences ever existed. The Tricolour was the adored god of all. Daily they used to hold flag-salutation ceremony and daily they used to pledge their lives to keep it flying aloft. "Jai Hind", "On to Delhi", "Inquilab Zindabad", "Hindustan Zindabad"-the thundering cries of these slogans used to come right from the hearts of the soldiers.

The I. N. A. soldiers travelled and marched mainly on foot. They traversed the whole distance of 1100 miles, separating Singapore from the Imphal front on foot only. The Commander of an Army corps did get a motor car but nobody ever waited for it. There were instances when Subhash Babu himself had walked for miles on end. Such was the Supreme Commander of the I. N. A., the Head of the Provisional Government.

In the beginning there were no fixed scales of pay. Everybody used to get enough to cover his needs. But when circumstances improved and when time came to send soldiers to the front, the scales of pay of the officers were fixed. A Lieutenant got Rs. 85, a Captain got Rs. 125, a Major got Rs. 180, a Lt-Colonel got Rs. 300 and a full-fledged Colonel got Rs. 400. Yet, there was a time when nobody got more than 250 rupees for months on end.

The soldiers responsible for conspicuous acts of bravery were specially honoured. The main honours and

medals were as follows: Shaheed-E-Bharat; Shere-e-Hind; Sardar-e-Jung; Veer-e-Hind; Tamagha-e-Shatrunash; Tamagha-e-Bahaduri. The men who donated all his possessions for the cause used to get the title of "Sevak-e-Hind."

Recruitment was not confined only to the military field. Civilian personnel also was recruited. Malaya was the principal territory where soldiers were given training. There were four big camps there and nearly 7000 soldiers were accommodated there. 1000 soldiers were being trained in Thailand at that time. The quota of Burma was nearly 3000. More than 20,000 persons were recruited for civilian service from Malaya alone. These people were given propaganda work over and above their official duties.

The organisation of the Provisional Government and the Indian Independence League was a vast and solidly-founded affair. It was not like a toy-sword. It was a wartime government and yet it maintained 19 important departments. There was a special minister for each department. There was a Supply Department and a Finance Department and an Audit Department and a Press Department and a Publicity and Propaganda Department, and a Women's Department and an Education Department and a Public Health Department and a Social Service Department and a Reconstruction Department. The affairs of the Burma Branches of the Independence League were also placed in the hands of a special minister.

The Provisional Government and the Independence League had a subsidiary headquarters at Singapore and the affairs of those Branches of the League which were-

situated in Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Borneo, were placed under its control. By June 1944, 232562 men and women from Malaya alone had pledged their support to the League. Out of the 3 million Indians residing in greater East Asia, 18,00,000 had joined the League.

Over and above the Andaman and Nicobar islands, the Provisional Goverment had under its control a territory named Ziawadi. It was a big estate which was presented to the Provisional Government by a patriot named Mr. Paramananda. The estate was situated in Burma but the majority of its population was Indian and much of the property covered by it was also owned by Indians. There were nearly 15000 Indians in this territory. There was a cotton mill and a woolen mill and a sugar factory also. A hospital for wounded soldiers was opened there during the hectic days of war. The total area of Ziawadi estate was 50 square miles.

In addition to the I. N. A., the Ranee of Jhansi Regiment and the children's Army, a Free India Police Corps was also organised in due course of time. This corps did the work of protecting the territories under the control of the Provisional Government.

Towards end, the Manipur-Bishnupur area also came under the control of the Provisional Government. Theflag of free India was unfurled on that small but free patch of soil for the first time in 200 years.

The Provisional Government printed all its orders in systematic official gazette and they had also prepared postage stamps bearing the slogan "Chalo Delhi."

Now let us review the financial position of the Provisional Government and then pass on to the more active war front.

It is possible that the Indian Independence League might have accepted some financial help from Japan during its early days but after Subhash Babu took over the control the responsibility of financing all the activities of greater East Asia, was the concern of the Indian people only. Subhash never experienced difficulty about money. Wherever he went money flowed around him. This flow of money had begun from the time when Subhash accepted the post of the President of Indian Independence League in Singapore. Whenever he gave a call from the pulpit the poor and the wealthy flocked to him–and laid all their belongings at his feet. Some of these donors had shown such a zeal for sacrifice that their names will be written in letters of gold when the history of our fight for independence comes to be recorded. Many of the donors were such that they would put the celebrated Bhamasha of Maharana Pratap to shame.

The following letter will show how Subhash Babu's appeal to youngsters used to stir the hearts of the budding generation. It is one of the innumerable letters that were being received daily:

" I am an Indian student. I live at 166, Tank Road. Syonan town. Recently I was called in to help in the work connected with the government lottery tickets issued by the Finance Department of Guosei kanfu. I was given a sum of 10 dollars for the work I put in on the occasion. I am sending the whole sum to you for the purpose of forwarding it to our Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. In addition I shall also be sending to you one dollar per week which I get for my pocket expense. It is to be spent for our cause. I have nothing more to give.

I hope that each Indian man woman or child will sacrifice everything so that our country may be free.

Jai Hind.

(Sd) S. Narayanan."

Once, when in Rangoon a well-known Muslim millionaire came to pay his respects to Subhash. Subhash in the course of his talk with this gentleman mentioned that he was thinking of starting an "Azad Hind Bank".

Pat came the question from the millionaire; " How much money would you require ?"

Subhash replied; " Five million rupees ",

The Shethji said; " Oh, it is nothing. I shall myself give 3 million rupees and make arrangements for the remaining two millions".

And the Shethji kept his word. The Bank was established without delay. Shares were subscribed to the tune of 5 million rupees of which 25 lacs were paid up at once. The Bank was registered according to law, and the Articles of Association were also printed without much loss of time. Even today, the seal of the Registrar of the Burma Government is there on those Articles of Association.

This Bank also began systematic work like other Banks. The basis of the work was commercial as was the custom obtaining in pre-War days. People began to deposit their money in this Bank. The Provisional Government also opened their account at the Bank. The Bank after some time expanded its activities and opened their branches.

Once when the Burma Government had no money to make payments to their soldiers. the Bank had given them a gift of 5 lacs of rupees.

Money was required for carrying on the work of the

Free Indian Government and tnis money was raised by donations gifts funds and public auction of things of emotional value. In addition it was decided to levy a tax also. This tax was not based on a person's yearly income but on that person's total assets. A certain percentage of the total assets of the people was to be appropriated by way of tax. A committee of leading merchants was constituted to prepare an index showing details of the assets of all Indians residing in the land. This committee estimated the value of the assets belonging to each Indian and then the amount of tax to be levied on, was decided. A time limit was fixed. After all these things were over, the people used to go to the Azad Bank themselves and pay up the amount of tax fixed. The tax was levied on Indians only. There have been instances when Indians tried to pass off as Burmans for the sole purpose of evading the tax.

The main item of expenditure in the accounts of the Provisional Government was in connection with the activities of the I. N. A. The I. N. A. had captured and made good use of the artillery and other implements of war which the Britishers had abandoned at the time of their retreat from Singapore and Hongkong. But I. N. A. had to be fed......and paid. Workers in other departments had to be given a subsistence allowance if nothing more. The hospitals and schools were unavoidable items of expenditure. All these financial responsibilities were met with fully by the Provisional Governments. Full and detailed accounts were kept as is done by well-established Government.

Once when Subhash was to start on a tour many

prominent Indians came to the air-field just outside Rangoon to give him a send-off. It was not yet time for the aeroplane to take off and Subhash utilized the intervening moments in addressing the Indians gathered there. He said; " We require 20 lacs of rupees for carrying on the work of our government. "

The people who had gathered there after a brief consultation among themselves announced after exactly eleven minutes, that the sum required by Netaji was ready. They laid it at the feet of their beloved Subhash.

Another incident which occurred at Penang is also worth noting here. A youngman who was in search for a job went to see Subhash Babu. He had a small dimunitive silver flower vase and he laid it at the feet of Subhash as an humble offering.

Subhash said, raising the vase above his head: " I want to auction this loving gile. I want twenty five thousand rupees for it".

The first bid for the vase was of Rs. 51,000 ! Subhash Babu's eyes were filled with tears of love and affection.

Subhash Babu's birth-day was also celebrated with royal splendour. Many days before it was due, the Propaganda Chief of the Provisionnl Government announced that Subhash was to be weighed against gold on the occasion of his birthday and after the ceremony the gold was to be given over as a gift to Free India Government. The mothers, sisters and wives of all the Indians gave away their ornaments to weigh Subhash against gold. The Provisional Government got nearly 20 crores of rupees in all. This cannot be called a big sum for any duly

constituted Government, but in comparison with the conditions obtaining in India today that sum was really big. There were no fines in the rule of Subhash. People gave money of their own free-will. 2 crores ! No it is not a small sum.

Once, during a mammoth meeting in Rangoon a flower-wreath which had adorned the neck of Netaji during the earlier part of the meeting was publicly auctioned. The first bid which was given in the name of Indian Independence was of 1 lac of rupees. A youth cried out "2 lacs." Then the bidding increased: three, four, five six-seven lacs. The youth could put up with it no longer. He ran towards the pulpit and said: "Netaji I give everything that belongs to me. I lay all my property at your feet." Netaji hugged him to his bosom and said: "Yes, this flower-wreath is yours. This wreath will adorn the neck of our Bharat Mata when she becomes free."

......And this youth's was not a solitary example. There were innumerable incidents when people had made total sacrifice. Many people had offered all their property and even their bodies to the Provisional Government for use in the common cause.

Subhash had received presents valued at about Rs.40 lacs on his birthday. In the list of donors the names of Habib Saheb and Mr. Betai were the most conspicuous. They led the batch of men who had made the total sacrifice. Habib Saheb had property valued at one crore while Mr. Betai had property worth 25 to 30 lacs. In addition to Mr. Betai's contribution Mrs. Betai had donated all her personal belongings including the ornaments of which she was very fond.

Mr. Ayer was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Azad Hind Bank. Other Directors were Mr. Bashir, Mr. Betai, Mr. Matcha, Dr. Alagappan and Mr. Dinanath. People spontaneously and voluntarily went to the bank and deposited their money. The Fund Raising Committee and the Finance Department of the Provisional Government had direct contact with the bank. 15 crores of rupees were raised only from Burma itself. Another five crores were raised from Malaya and other countries. People used to give gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, and such other things as gifts over and above the gift of food and clothing. People gave in plenty because they never stopped to think how much they gave when they were giving to their adored and beloved Government. They gave all that they could possibly give.

Inspite of all this help the Free India Government always found itself short of funds. The other Government involved in war were expending crores of rupees every hour, but the Free India Government could not do it. Looking at it from any point of view we come to the same conclusion that the Provisional Government and the National Army were composed of a band of revolutionaries. Paramount and intense patriotism was their real power. Only through this power they could create a new and a glorious world.

VI

AT THE FEFT OF THE MOTHER

The vanguards to the Indian National Army reached Rangoon in the beginning of 1944. Day and night the work of deciding the strategy and the tactics was going on. In those days Subhash used to sleep only for two hours a day. The soldiers of the I. N. A. came to know him as the ascetic commander.

Then came the 26th of January and the scenes of unprecedented awakening of the people of India passed before Subhash Babu's eyes in a panorama. He gave orders to celebrate the day in a fitting manner. Rangoon saw new light on that day. People filled the alms-bowl of Subhash to the point of overflowing. Subhash thundered, "Give me your blood and I shall give you freedom" and the youth of the country took up Subhash's challenge. They signed pledges with their own blood and sent them to Netaji. Subhash was convinced that even though his Army was small in comparison and even though he lacked equipment he would be able to achieve the independence of India with the help of that army. The British bayonets would be of no avail against the onslaught of these martyrs. He was also convinced that when his army marched into India all the 40 crores of Indian people would welcome it with open arms and that day the whole organisation of the British bureaucracy would crumble down like a house of cards.

Full of such glorious hopes and dreams Subhash

standing under the fluttering Tricolour gave orders one day to the Indian National Army to cross the Arakan and Assam mountains and to march on to the Red Fort at Delhi. It was fourth of February, the Tricolour was fluttering majestically high up in the air and thousands of throats were singing in melodious unison and respectful adoration the famons song:

" Kadam Kadam badhaye ja............"

now well familiar to every child in India.

The Indian National Army mounted two separate offensives to free India from bondage. The 18th of March 1944 will occupy a place of pride in the history of India. because on that day Indian Notional Army crossing the border of India had massed on the Kohima-Manipur sector for further attack. The scene when the soldiers of the I. N. A. fell down on their face and kissed the holy soil of their land was really soul-stirring. They took the dust from the first bit of free Indian territory and pledged that they would never retreat. They would never rest till India is free.

The offensive started by the Indian National Army became so intense and powerful by the beginning of May that the British troops had to retreat before their onslaught. The Indian National Army gained control over the railway line joining Ukhrul and Hangad in the south and in the north they captured the railway line joining Kohima and Toungu on the right bank of the Chindwin. They attacked Imphal. the capital of the Manipur State from the two sides. There Colonel Shah Nawaz unfurled the Tricoloured national flag on the soil that was free from British domination.

Three army units of the Indian National Army were

engaged on this front at the time. They had taken Morai, Kohima and other villages by surprise and surrounded Imphal from all sides. The enthusiasm, determination and fighting spirit exhibited by this army will permanently live in the annals of history. They had no arms, no ammunition no food, no clothing and no air-support and yet they–the martyrs of the Indian National Army beat the well equipped British troops into retreat. The mountains of Arakan, Imphal and Palel reverberated with the war cries of the victorious Indian Armies.

All this had become possible because the Indian soldiers were imbued with a unique sense of bravery and a revolutionary spirit which probably has no parallel in world history. The enthusiasm of the soldiers increased manifold after they had tasted the smell of the earth of their own country. Indeed the British Empire was shaken to its foundations on that day, because on that day the story had spread from one end of India to the other that British Indian soldiers, fighting against their brothers of the Indian National Army had deserted and gone over to the side of the martyrs. The Government used to suppress factual news at that time and consequently all sorts of rumours gained currency.

Certain incidents connected with this war are worth ever remembering. Certainly history cannot and will not forget them. Towards the end of their campaign the soldiers of the I. N. A. were very much short of their rations, They had practically nothing to eat. Their communication with the rear had broken down. They never had any adequate aerial support and it is well-known that a modern war cannot be fought without the support

of aeroplanes. Fighting without the support from air had put a lot of strain on the I. N. A. men. Britain trying to exploit the situation used to address these men trying to lure them into surrender. First Britain called them stooges of Japan. The I. N. A. men replied: " We are fighters for freedom and are fighting under the orders of Netaji". Then Britain tried to lure them. The British commander said, "Come and surrender. You will get enough to eat." Pat came the answer: "It is better to live on grass as free man than to be enslaved and then get a full meal."

The emotion that drips from every word of the foregoing sentence stirs every freedom-loving person's heart but it must be noted that the statement was not merely an emotional outburst. It was a description of the actual state of affairs. For days together the I. N. A. soldiers lived on grass and green leaves yet they did not give up their fight. After all were not the jungles of Imphal the jungles of India also ? Even a pinch of dust from the free soil of their motherland was most precious for them.

It must be noted here that the victorious on-rush of the Indian National Army and the personal insistence as well as influence of Subhash Babu made Japan change her mind and let the Indians do whatever they liked but the extent of co-operation which she gave to the Indians lessened in a comparative degree. Japan wanted to lead the army which was to enter India, but Subhash Babu did not give in on this point. On the contrary he gave orders to the National Army to march. After that came the question of the declaration of the victorious entry into India. Here also Subhash insisted that the

Provisional Government should be given an honoured place in the declaration. In the end it was decided that the declaration should be issued by both the Japanese as well as the Indian Governments simultaneously.

The various stations of the Azad Hind radio were kept totally free from the control of the Japanese and consequently the speeches of Subhash Babu as well as the orders and declarations issued on behalf of the Provisional Government were wholly original creations, Japan having not been allowed to do anything with it. Japan had demanded that Japan's previous consent should be taken regarding the appointment of the administrator for whatever Indian territory that might come under the control of the Provisional Government but Subhash turned a deaf ear to this demand and appointed Mr. Chatterjee as the Governor of the liberated Indian territory without caring for getting Japan's consent.

Then came the question of the appointment of war co-ordination committee which is an essential thing when two or more nations are involved in a war against a common enemy. Subhash demanded 50 percent representation for India on this committee. Japan acceded to this request, but the question as to who should be the President of this committee remained unsolved. Japan insisted on a Japanese President while Subhash suggested appointing two presidents who might preside over the meetings of the committee in turn. At last Subhash Babu's suggestion had to be accepted.

Japan is mainly a land of merchants like Britain and so when the question of concessions to be allowed to Japan cropped up, Japan demanded that special commercial privileges should be given to Japan and that Japanese

merchants should be allowed to enter the occupied territory without any hindrance. Subhash gave a flat "no" to this demand. He said that the question could be settled only after India became completely free.

I think no more proofs are required for proving that Subhash Babu was not a puppet of Japan. He once had refused to see the Japanese Ambassador, because he had not brought with him credential papers duly endorsed by the Imperial Government. He was responsible for saving innumerable Indians from the hands of the power-intoxicated Japanese officers. The tender plant of Indian Independence did not wither before the all-devouring onslaught of yellow imperialism because Subhash was there to protect it and lay down his life if need be in doing that.

The morale and enthusiasm of those soldiers who were kept in the rear increased as the war in Manipur and Bishnupur fronts became more intense. The National Army had set foot on the soil of India on March 18th but three days before that i. e. on March 15th, Captain Laxmi the commander of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment had addressed the following letter to Subhash Babu:

" Dear Netaji,

We have finished our training to the satisfaction of all concerned but we are denied the privilege of going to the front. We are given nursing duties. We are at a loss to understand why we are being treated thus, why this sort of difference is being shown towards us. You have called us by the name of that brave woman, the Rani of Jhansi. You had promised us when you declared open our training centre that we also would be sent to the front like the Rani of Jhansi and you had even visualised the possibility of the

enemy shaking in his shoes when we brandished our swords. You even hoped that the Indian soldiers of the British army would refuse to fight against us.

So please pass orders immediately for sending us to the front. You have taught us that women are equal to men in everything. You have given us training which was generally reserved for men. More than once you have asked us to be brave and go to the front and fight the enemy as our brothers do. Then why this differential attitude towards us now? Why are we considered to be different from men?

We are ready to sacrifice our lives for liberating our motherland from foreign yoke. We are signing this letter with our own blood as a proof of the sincerity of our purpose, if at all any proof is needed.

We expect an immediate answer from you."

When Subhash read this letter a smile hovered over his lips. He wrote back: " I will send you to the front but not to fight—only to serve and nurse the wounded".

The Amazons asked: " Why are we debarred from fighting? "

Subhash replied: " Yes, take your full war kit with you. Only send the combatant forces to the front and if you are cornered at any time you are at liberty to fight it out for the self-defence".

......And then young ladies, from 16 to 25 years started off for the front taking all their fighting equipment with them. It was a sight for gods to see......and who knows that the gods did not shed tears of joy at the sight?

The war was being waged on a total basis. Its fierceness and tempo was indescribable. The British lion inspite

of its age was still going strong and the resources at its command enabled it to mass a vast army and a colossal amount of material on the front. The celebrated rain of Assam also took a hand in the affray and soaked the earth through with its out-pourings. This elemental rage created such terrible conditions that not even an imaginative poet could describe it. A terrible reality began to loom large on the horizon. Re-inforcements and supplies that the martyrs fighting on the front used to receive regularly from the rear, became irregular and ultimately ceased. Ammunition was exhausted, food was exhausted, everything was exhausted, ...except one thing and that was the spirit of the martyrs who had renounced everything for the sake of freedom. Their hearts which were tenderer than flowers and yet harder than the hardest of stones, yearned for death.........in the service of the motherland.

There was no hope of making any advance, the siege of Imphal was being slowly broken, and along with it the strength of the martyrs was being slowly sapped up. The grief in their heart was boundless. They felt as if their hearts would break under its weight.

At last the order for retreat came through. The I. N. A. was not an army that fought only for the sake of fighting. True there were many whose ancestral profession was fighting but their spirit had changed. They had all become revolutionaries. They believed only in victory or death. How could they put up with the idea of retreat ? Did the Rajputs ever retreat ? These I. N. A. soldiers were modern Rajputs. They wanted to shed their blood on the holy soil of India. They asked themselves: " Where are we going to retreat-into Burma ?

Then why not die and merge with the soil of the mother-land?...And had they not taken a pledge in the presence of their beloved Tricolour and their beloved Netaji, who held an undisputed sway over their hearts, never to retreat? Had they not thundered that they would either unfurl the Tricolour on the Red Fort at Delhi or die in the attempt? Were they not to pave the way to Delhi with their own corpses?"

The soldiers refused to obey the orders for retreat. A story goes that a father who was fighting on the front shot dead his own son who was a dispatch-rider and who had brought the order for the army to retreat!

At last an order duly signed by Subhash Babu. was circulated amongst the soldiers. The officers explained to the soldiers the reasons for retreat and reassured the soldiers that yet another day would dawn when they would again be fighting on the same front. With tears in their eyes, the brave soldiers began to retrace their steps.

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A cycle of one year was now over since Netaji took the reigns of East Asia in his hands. The soldiers of the I. N. A. were celebrating War Festival. Netaji put before them the report of the work during the course of the year in the following words:—

Our achievements during the last twelve months can now be summed up:—

1. We have been able to mobilise men, money and materials in accordance with the programme of "Total Mobilisation."

2. We have trained our Army for a modern war and have expanded it considerably.

3. We have organised a women's section in our Army called the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

4. We have set up our own Government, the Arzi Hakumate Azad Hind, and have obtained a recognition from nine friendly Powers.

5. We have acquired our first Free Territory in the Andamans and Nicobar Islands.

6. We pushed forward our Head-quarters to Burma and in February, 1944, we launched our War of Independence. On the 21st March, we were able to proclaim to the world that our troops were already in India.

7. We have considerably expanded the work of our Press-Propaganda Publicity Department.

8. We have set up a new organisation called the Azad Hind Dal, to take over the task of administration and reconstruction in Free India.

9. We have set up a Bank of our own in Burma the National Bank of Azad Hind Ltd. We have placed orders for our own currency to circulate in Free India.

10. We have been able to give a good account of ourselves in every sector of the fighting front and our troops have been pushing on inside India, slowly but steadily inspite of all difficulties and hardships......

" There was a time when people had some doubt as to whether the Indian National Army would go into action and whether, if it went into action it would really defeat the enemy troops. That test we have passed, and naturally has given us unbounded confidence in ourselves...

Since the fighting began on the soil of India, this war has become our own war and the feeling that the war has become our own war has brought a new inspiration not

only to our troops which are actually fighting, but also to those who are behind the lines.

Uptil now, I have not received any complaint from our troops regarding the hardships that they are suffering. There has been only one complaint from the men and that is when there has been delay in sending them forward. For example, I recently visited hospital where there were men who have either been wounded, or stricken with malaria or some other disease. All these troops expressed their desire to be sent back to the front as soon as they were well. These are men who fought at the front and they know the conditions there and yet they were absolutely cheerful and optimistic. Without indulging in any exaggeration, I can say that this feeling of unbounded optimism prevails among all Indians in East Asia......

There is still another reason which strengthens our optimism, and that is the situation inside India. As you are well aware, so far there has been no compromise between the Congress Party on the one side and the British Government on the other. When Mahatma Gandhi was suddenly released some time ago, many people were speculating as to whether the release was purely on grounds of ill-health or it was a prelude to a compromise. Now it is quite clear that the sudden release of Mahatma Gandhi was ordered purely on medical grounds and that there is no political motive involved. As long as there is no compromise between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Government, we have no reason to feel anxious......... Our task will be made much easier if there is no compromise inside India between the Congress and the British Government. So far there is absolutely no sign of

compromise, and what is exceedingly encouraging to us is that the statements Mahatma Gandhi has made uptil now all point in one direction, and that is that he sees no reason to alter the attitude he took up about two years ago when he sponsored the "Quit India" resolution......

Therefore, I come to the conclusion that the situation inside India remains exceedingly favourable to us. One can easily understand that so long as the Congress does not compromise and does not surrender to the British Government, the general attitude of the people will remain anti-British. As our operations advance, people will soon realise that there is no other way of achieving freedom than fighting for it, and they will decide to participate in the war and to give us all assistance to conduct our war."

VII

SALUTE TO THE FATHER OF THE NATION

Before we try to assess the effects, which the retreat from Imphal had on Subhash Babu's mind and heart, let us review two incidents which bear witness to the intense love and adoration which he entertained for Mahatma Gandhi. If Netaji was the fountain-head of inspiration for all-the Indian National Army as well as the Indian Independence League; the Provisional Government as well as the Free India Corps-Gandhiji was the object of homage, adoration and love for all. The civilians, as well as the soldiers of greater East Asia never allowed a public occasion to pass without rending the air with the cry of "Mahatma Gandhiji Ki Jai". Subhash Babu delivered a broadcast speech addressed to Gandhiji on the 6th of July when the soldiers of the Indian National Army were fighting on the soil of India. In that speech he gave expression to the feelings which each and every Indian proudly entertains in his heart. The speech being historic, I reproduce here below:

Mahatmaji,

Now that your health has somewhat improved, and you are able to attend to public business to some extent, I am taking the liberty of addressing a few words to you with a view to acquainting you with the plans and the activities of patriotic Indians outside India.

Before I do so, I would like to inform you of the feelings of deep anxiety which Indians throughout the

World had for several days, after your sudden release from custody on grounds of ill-health. After the sad demise of Shrimati Kasturbaiji in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health. It has however, pleased Providence to restore you to comparative health, so that 388 millions of your countrymen may still have the benefit of your guidance and advice.

I should next like to say something about the attitude of your countrymen outside India towards yourself. What I shall say in this connection is the bare truth and nothing but the truth.

There are Indians outside India, as also at home, who are convinced that Indian Independence will be won only through the historic method of struggle. These men and women honestly feel that the British Government will never surrender to persuasion or moral pressure or non-violent resistance. Nevertheless, for Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences.

Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December, 1929, all members of the Indian National Cougress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. In all their propaganda before the world, they give you that position and the respect that is due to that position. For the world-public, we Indian nationalists are all one-having but one goal, one desire and one endeavour in life. In all the countries free from British influence that I have visited since I left India in 1941, you are held in the highest esteem, as no other Indian political leader has been, during the last century.

Each nation has its own internal politics and its own attitude towards political problems. But that cannot affect a Nation's appreciation of a man who has served his people so well and has bravely fought a first-class modern power all his life. In fact, your worth and your achievements are appreciated a thousand times more in those countries that are opposed to the British Empire than in those countries that pretend to be the friends of Freedom and Democracy. The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's Freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August, 1942.

From my experience of the British Government while I was inside India–from the secret information that I have gathered about Britain's policy while outside India–and from what I have seen regarding Britain's aims and intentions throughout the world, I am honestly convinced that the British Government will never recognise India's demand for Independence. Britain's one effort today is to exploit India to the fullest degree, in her endeavour to win this war. During the course of this war, Britain has lost one part of her territory to her enemies and another part to her friends. Even if the Allies could somehow win the war, it will be United States of America, and not Britain, that will be top dog in future and it will mean that Britian will become a protege of the U. S. A.

In such a situation the British will try to make good their present losses by exploiting India more ruthlessly than ever before. In order to do that plans have been already hatched in London for crushing the nationalist movement

in India once for all. It is because I know of these plans from secret but reliable sources that I feel it my duty to bring it to your notice.

It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain—as in the U. S. A.—who would like to see India free. These idealists who are treated by their own people as cranks form a microscopic minority. So far as India is concerned for all practical purposes the British Government and the British people mean one and the samet hing.

Regarding the war aims of the U. S. A., I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the "American Century," that is that in the present century the U. S. A. will dominate the world. In this ruling clique there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U. S A.

There is no Indian, whether at home or abroad, who would not be happy if India's freedom could be won through the method that you have advocated all your life and without shedding human blood. But things being what they are I am convinced that if we do desire freedom we must be prepared to wade through blood.

If circumstances had made it possible for us to organise an armed struggle inside India through our own efforts and resources that would have been the best course for us. But Mahatmaji, you know Indian conditions perhaps better than anybody else. So far as I am concerned, after twenty years' experience of public service in India, I came to the conclusion that it was impossible to organise an

armed resistance in the country without some help from outside-help from our countrymen abroad, as well as from some foreign power or powers.

Prior to the outbreak of the present war, it was exceedingly difficult to get help from a foreign power, or even from Indians abroad. But the outbreak of the present war threw open the possibility of obtaining aid—both political and military—from the enemies of the British Empire. Before I could expect any help from them however I had first to find out what their attitude was towards India's demand for freedom. British propagandists for a number of years, had been telling the world that the Axis Powers were the enemies of Freedom and, therefore, of India's freedom. Was that a fact ? I asked myself. Consequently, I had to leave India in order to find out the truth myself and as to whether the Axis Powers would be prepared to give us help and assistance in our fight for freedom.

Before I finally made up my mind to leave home and home-land, I had to decide whether it was right for me to take help from abroad. I had previously studied the history of revolutions all over the world, in order to discover the methods which had enabled other nations to obtain freedom. But I had not found a single instance in which an enslaved people had won freedom without foreign help of some sort. In 1940 I read my history once again, and once again, I came to the conclusion that history did not furnish a single instance where freedom had been won without help of some sort from abroad. As for the moral question whether it was right to take help, I told myself that in public, as in private life, one can always take help as a loan and repay that loan later on. Moreover, if a powerful

Empire like the British Empire, could go round the world with begging bowl what objection could there be to an enslaved disarmed people like ourselves taking help as a loan from abroad.

I can assure you Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on a hazardous mission, I spent days weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor.

It was the easiest thing for me to remain at home and go on working as I had worked so long. It was also an easy thing for me to remain in an Indian prison while the War lasted. Personally, I had nothing to lose by doing so. Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me.

By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking–not only my life and my whole future career–but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we would get another chance —another golden opportunity—for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home. But I was convinced of two things; firstly that such a golden opportunity would not come within another century–and secondly, that without action from

abroad we would not be able to win freedom, merely through our own efforts at home. That is why I resolved to take the plunge.

Providence has been kind to me. In spite of manifold difficulties, all my plans have succeeded so far. After I got out of India, my first endeavour was to organise my countrymen, wherever I happened to meet them. I am glad to say that everywhere I found them to be wide awake and anxious to do everything possible for winning freedom for India. I then approached the Government that were at war with our enemy, in order to find out what their attitude was towards India. I found out that contrary to what British propagandists had been telling us for a number of years–the Axis Powers were now openly the friends of India's freedom. I also discovered that they were prepared to give such help as we desired, and as was within their own power.

I know the propaganda that our enemy has been carrying on against me. But I am sure that my countrymen, who know me so well will never be taken in. One who has stood for national self-respect and honour all his life and has suffered considerably in vindicating it, would be the last person in this world to give in to any other foreign power. Moreover I have nothing to gain personally at the hands of a foreign power. Having received the highest honour possible for an Indian at the hands of my own countrymen, what is there for me to receive from a foreign power? Only that man can be a puppet who has either no sense of honour and self-respect or desires to build up a position for himself through the influence of others.

Not even my worst enemy can dare to say that I am capable of selling national honour and self-respect. And not even my worst enemy can dare to assert that I was a nobody in my own country and that I needed foreign help to secure a position for myself. In leaving India, I had to risk everything that I had including my life. But I had to take that risk because only by doing so could I help the achievement of India's freedom.

There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them?

I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so.

Moreover as you personally are aware, I have been a close student of international affairs. I have had personal contacts with international figures before the outbreak of this war. I am therefore, no novice who could be duped by a shrewd and cunning politician. Last but not least before forming an opinion about the attitude of the Axis powers I established close personal contact with important leaders and personalities in the Axis countries who are responsible for their national affairs.

Consequently, I make bold to say that my countrymen

can have the fullest confidence in my judgment of international affairs. My countrymen abroad will testify to the fact that since I left India, I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country. On the contrary, whatever I have done has been for the benefit of my nation for enhancing India's prestige before the world and for advancing the cause of India's freedom.

Mahatmaji, since the beginning of the War in East Asia our enemies have been carrying on a raging and tearing campaign against Japan. I shall, therefore, say something about Japan– particularly because at the present moment I am working in the closest co-operation with the Government, Army and people of Japan.

There was a time when Japan had an alliance with our enemy. I did not come to Japan so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese alliance. I did not come to Japan, so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was only after Japan took what I consider to be the most momentous step in her history–namely, declaration of war on Britain and America–that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will.

Like so many of my countrymen I had read anti-Japanese propaganda material for a number of years. Like so many of my countrymen, I did not understand why Japan went to war with China in 1937. And like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a Medical Mission to Chungking in December 1938. But

what I realised after my visit to Japan and what many people at home do not yet realise, is that since the outbreak of the War in East Asia, Japan's attitude towards the world in general, and towards Asiatic nations in particular has been completely revolutionised.

It is a change that has overtaken not merely the Government, but also the people of Japan. A new consciousness-what I may best describe as an Asiatic consciousness-has seized the souls of the people of Japan. That change explains Japan's present attitude towards the Philippines, Burma and India. That is what explains Japan's new policy in China.

After my visit to Japan and after establishing close contact with the present day leaders of that country I was fully satisfied that Japan's present policy towards Asia was no bluff but was rooted in sincerity.

This is not the first instance in history when an entire nation has been seized with a new consciousness. We have seen instances of it before in France during the French revolution and in Russia during the Bolshevik revolution. After my second visit to Japan in November 1943, I visited the Philippines, met Filipino leaders there and saw things for myself. I have also been in Burma for a fairly long time and I have been able to see things with my own eyes, after the declaration of independence. And I have been to China to find out if Japan's new policy was real or if it was a fake. The latest agreement between Japan and the National Government of China has given the Chinese people practically all that they had been demanding. Japan, under that agreement, has even agreed to withdraw her troops from China on the termination of hostilities.

What then is Chungking-China fighting for ? Can one believe that Britain and America are helping Chungking-China out of purely altruistic motives ? Will not Britain and America demand their pound of flesh in return for the help that they are now giving to Chungking to make her continue the fight against Japan ? I clearly see that Chungking is being mortgaged to Britain and America because of past hatred and antagonism towards Japan.

So long as Japan did not initiate her present policy towards China, there might have been some justification or excuse for a Chinese to seek British and American aid for fighting Japan. But now that an entirely new chapter in Sino-Japanese relations has begun, there is not the slightest excuse for Chungking to continue her meaningless struggle against Japan. That is not good for Chinese people; it is certainly not good for Asia.

In April 1942 you said that if you were free to do so you would work for an understanding between China and Japan. That was an utterance of rare statesmanship. It is India's slavery that is at the bottom responsible for the chaos in China. It is because of the British hold over India that the Anglo-Americans could bluff Chungking into hoping that sufficient help could be brought to Chungking to enable Chungking to continue the war against Japan. You were absolutely right in thinking, Mahatmaji, that a free India would work for peace between Japan and China. I go so far as to say that the freedom of India will automatically bring about an honourable understanding between Chungking and Japan, by opening the eyes of Chungking to the folly that she is now committing.

Since I came to East Asia and visited China, I have

been able to study the Chinese question more deeply. I find that there is a dictatorship ruling in Chungking. I have no objection personally to dictatorship, if it is for a righteous cause. But the dictatorship that rules at Chungking is clearly under foreign American influence. Unfortunately, the Anglo-Americans have been able to deceive the ruling clique at Chungking into thinking that if Japan could be somehow defeated, then China would become the dominant power in Asia. The fact, however, is that if Japan were defeated by any chance, then China would certainly pass under American influence and control. That would be a tragedy for China and for the whole of Asia.

It is through this false hope of becoming the dominant power in Asia, if Japan could be somehow defeated, that the ruling clique at Chungking has entered into an unholy alliance with the ruling clique at White House and at Whitehall. I know something of the propagandist activities of the Chungking Government in India and of its efforts to play upon the emotions of the Indian people and win their sympathy. But I can honestly say that Chungking which has been mortgaged to Wall Street, and Lombard Street, does not deserve the sympathy of the Indian people any longer especially after Japan has initiated her new policy towards China.

Mahatmaji you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises. But I have seen with my own eyes how in the midst of a world war Japan has put through revolutionary changes in countries

like the Philippines, Burma and National China. Japan is true to her word and her actions are in full conformity with her declarations.

Coming to India, I must say that Japan has proved her sincerity by her deeds. There was a time when people used to say that Japan had selfish intentions regarding India. If she had them, why should she recognize the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should she decide to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should there now be an Indian Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands stationed at Port Blair? Last but not least, why should Japan unconditionally help the Indian people in East Asia in their struggle for their Independence?

There are Indians all over East Asia and they have every opportunity of seeing Japan at close quarters. Why should three million Indians distributed all over East Asia, adopt a policy of the closest co-operation with Japan if they had not been convinced of her bonafides and of her sincerity? You can coerce one man or coax him into doing what you want him to do. But no one can coerce three million Indians distributed all over East Asia.

If Indians in East Asia had taken help from Japan without putting forward their own efforts and without making the maximum sacrifice, they would have been guilty of wrong-doing. But, as an Indian, I am happy and proud to be able to say that my countrymen in East Asia are putting forward the maximum efforts to mobilise men, money and materials for the struggle for India's freedom.

I have had experience at home in collecting funds.

and materials and in recruiting men for national service for a period of twenty years. In the light of this experience, I can properly assess the worth and value of the sacrifice that our countrymen in East Asia are now making. Their effort is magnificent. It is because they are putting forward a magnificent effort themselves and are prepared to make the maximum sacrifice that I see no objection to taking help from Japan for such necessary articles as Arms, Ammunition, etc., that we ourselves cannot produce.

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind (or Free India) has been recognized by Japan, Germany and seven other friendly powers and this has given Indians a new status and a new prestige in the eyes of the whole world. The Provisional Government has, as its one objective, the liberation of India from the British yoke, through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then be for the Indian people themselves to determine the form of Government that they choose and also to decide as to who should take charge of that Government.

I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that I and all those who are working with me, regard themselves as the servants of the Indian people. The only reward that we desire for our efforts for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our Motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field once India is free. The remainder will be content to take up

any position in Free India, however humble it may be. The spirit that animates all of us today is that it is more honourable to be even a sweeper in Free India than to have the highest position under British rule. We all know that there are hundreds of thousands of able men and women at home to whom India's destiny could be entrusted, once freedom is achieved.

How much help we shall need from Japan till the last Britisher is expelled from the soil of India, will depend on the amount of co-operation that we shall receive from inside India. Japan herself does not desire to thrust her assistance upon us. Japan would be happy if the Indian people could liberate themselves through their own exertions. It is we who have asked for assistance from Japan after declaring war on Britain and America, because our enemy has been seeking help from other powers. However I have every hope that the help we shall receive from our countrymen at home will be so great that we shall need the minimum help from Japan.

Nobody would be more happy than ourselves if by any chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts or if by any chance the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' Resolution and gives effect to it. We are however proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable.

Mahatmaji, there is one other matter to which I shall refer before I close and that is about the ultimate outcome of this war. I know very well the kind of propaganda that our enemies have been carrying on in order to create the impression that they are confident of victory. But I hope

that my countrymen will not be duped thereby and will not think of compromising with Britain on the issue of independence under the mistaken notion that the Anglo-Americans will win this war.

Having travelled round the world under war-time conditions with my eyes open having seen the internal weakness of the enemy on the Indo-Burma frontier and inside India, and having taken stock of our own strength and resources I am absolutely confident of our final victory.

I am not so foolish as to minimise in the least the strength of the enemy. I know that we have a long and hard struggle in front of us. I am aware that on the soil of India Britain will fight bravely and fight hard in a desperate attempt to save her Empire. But I know also that however long and hard the struggle may be it can have but one outcome--namely, our victory.

India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India and in spite of all difficulty and hardship they are pushing forward, slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tricolour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's house in New Delhi.

Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation we ask for your blessings and good wishes.

JAI HIND

VIII
SPARKS

After returning from the Imphal Front Netaji was giving out fire that was burning hot within his heart. Out of the burning and inspiring speeches he made before the soldiers as well as the general public here are some sparks:–

"The formation of the Azad Hind Fauj has been a source of extreme worry and anxiety to our enemies. They tried to ignore its existence for a time. but when the news could no longer be suppressed, their organ–the anti–India Radio at Delhi–started propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners–of–war, under Japanese control had been coerced into joining the army. This propaganda could not however endure long, because the news began to infilterate into India that large numbers of Indian civilians from all parts of East Asia were joining the Azad Hind Fauz. The experts of the anti–India Radio had therefore to alter their tactics. They then started fresh propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners-of–war had refused to join the Azad Hind Fauj and that, thereupon, Indian civilians were being forced into joining that army. It did not probably strike the wise–propagandist at Delhi that if it was impossible to coerce prisoners–of war into joining the army, it was even more impossible to coerce free civilians into becoming soldiers......

"Anybody who has a grain of common sense will realize that though a mercenary army can be organized by coercion, a Volunteer Army can never be so organized. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle but you

can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own.

"At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauz was no army-that it was a mere propaganda stunt and that it would never fight. Later on the anti-India Radio at Delhi began to shout that the Azad Hind Fauz had not crossed the frontier of India. Now that frontier has been crossed and the battle for India's freedom is being waged on Indian soil, enemy propaganda have taken recourse to the last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious schedule supposed to have been given out by us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule......

"I have already told you that the Azad Hind Fauz is composed both of ex-Army men as well as of ex-Civilians. I may inform you further that it is composed not only of men but also of women.

"Friends the Azad Hind Fauz is an army which is not only composed of Indians, but it has also been trained by Indians. That army is today fighting under Indian Officers.

"The Azad Hind Fauz is the military organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Provisional Government and its Army are the servants of the Indian nation. Their task is to fight and liberate India. When that liberation is achieved it will be for the Indian people to determine the form of Government that they desire. The Provisional Government will then make room for a permanent Government in Free India which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people. For that glorious day we are now toiling, sweating, and fighting".

5-7-44

"We know that so long as the British Army in India is not attacked from outside it will be able to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. The Azad Hind Fauz has therefore set up the "Second Front" in Indian's war of emancipation. When we advance further into India and the Indian people see with their own eyes the British forces falling back, they will get the confidence that Britain's downfall is at hand. Then only will they risk their necks and come and join hands with our advancing forces to liberate the country. Together we shall then pursue the British and expel them from the soil of India......

Friends, only a fool would minimise the strength of the enemy. We have seen heterogeneous armies of our enemies in the Arakans, in the Kaladan and Haka sectors, in the Tiddim area and in Manipur and Assam.

As we anticipated long ago, their rations and equipment are superior to ours, because they have been looting India in order to fight us. We have nevertheless beaten them everywhere. Revolutionary armies everywhere in the world have to fight under conditions similar to ours but they nevertheless triumph at the end. Their strength does not come from beer and rum, tinned-pork and bully-beef-but from faith and sacrifice, heroism and fortitude. The Azad Hind Fauz unlike the British Army in India-has been trained to fight under conditions of extreme difficulty and hardship, and it will never let down the 388 millions of Indians for whose liberation it is now fighting."

10 : 7 : 44

" As I study the events of 1857 and think of the

atrocities perpetrated by the British after the revolution collapsed my blood begins to boil. If we are men, we will certainly see to it that the heroes of 1857 and after who suffered so much from British terror and brutality are properly avenged. India demands revenge. The British who spilt the blood of innocent freedom-loving Indians and tortured them in an inhuman manner not only during the war, but after it was over must pay for their crimes. We Indians, do not hate the enemy enough. If you want your countrymen to rise to heights of superhuman courage and heroism you must teach them not only to love their country, but also to hate the enemy.......

Therefore, I call for blood. It is only the blood of of the enemy that can avenge his crimes of the past. But we can take blood only if we are prepared to give blood. Consequently, our programme for the future is to give blood. The blood of our heroes in this war will wash away our sins of the past. The blood of our heroes will be the price of our liberty. The blood of our heroes-their heroism and their bravery-will secure for the Indian people the revenge that they demand of their British tyrants and oppressors."

11 : 7 : 44.

"The methods of British propaganda during the last war have been recorded in black and white by Englishmen themselves. One has only to reach such books as "Secrets of Crews House" and "Wartime Falsehoods" by Ponsonby, to realise what British propagandists are capable of. It was an English General Brigadier Charteris who started the rumour in the last war that the Germans were extracting

fat from the bodies of dead soldiers. He knew that it was a deliberate falsehood and after the war, he confessed that he had not hoped that his propaganda would strike roots. But the unsophisticated section of the world public thought that a British General could not lie, and the trick therefore worked.

"A leopard cannot change its spots. The lier cannot stop lying even if he knows that he is no longer trusted. He hopes against hope that there are still enough fools in this world who could be taken in. Consequently, I am not surprised that the British are continuing their game of lying and bluffing......

"For a fairly long time enemy propagandists put out a story that the Azad Hind Fauz was a puppet army which has been forced to fight Japan's war. But they ultimately realised that the trick was not working. Everybody was naturally asking as to how a puppet army could fight so bravely and so stubbornly. The tactics have now been altered, and the world is being told that the Azad Hind Fauz is a ragged army with poor rations and poor equipment......

"Revolutionary armies all over the world whether in Ireland or Italy or Russia or elsewhere have to fight under similar conditions. Everywhere they have won at the end. So also shall we. But we shall first have to pay for our liberty with our blood.

"A new stunt is that Islam is persecuted here, and that we are anti-Muslims. You know what falsehood that is. We have Muslims in the Provisional Government in the Indian Independence League and in the Fauz. Muslim Officers in our Fauz are not nobodies. They are sons of

distinguished families, who took their education in the Military Academy at Dehra Dun. No, their lies cannot affect us. Nor will the world believe them."

12 : 7 : 1944.

"Our motherland is seeking liberty. She can no more live without liberty. But Liberty demands sacrifice at its altar. Liberty demands the unstinted sacrifice of your strength, your wealth, all that you value, all that you possess. Like the revolutionaries of the past you must sacrifice your ease, your comfort, your pleasures, your cash, your property. You have given your sons as soldiers for the battle-fields. But Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased. I shall tell you the secret of pleasing her. Today she demands not merely fighters, soldiers for the Fauz. Today she demands rebels—men rebels and women rebels—who will be prepared to join Suicide Squades—for whom death is a certainty—rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body.

"You give me your blood, I shall get you freedom—this is the demand of Liberty."

22 : 9 : 44.

IX

THE GLORY OF DEFEAT

It is given to very few persons to remain unmoved when they come face to face with defeat and desolation. The army which had crossed the Arakan mountains and besieged Imphal with hearts full of bubbling emotion, did not break down under the strain of retreat, but some chicken-hearted soldiers and officers deserted while some others went over to the opposing side. Subhash had studied the history of the various world-wars and that fact stood him in good stead during those dark days. The extent of the effect which this defeat had on Subhash Babu's mind was limited. In fact he had already given a hint to his soldiers that they would be required to pass through stages of defeat and distraction. But those who had drowned their own selfish interests into the flood of patriotic feeling only for the time being, found it hard to swallow this defeat. If we analyse their mind and feelings we perhaps come to the conclusion that when their faith in the ultimate victory was shaken a sort of weakness entered their hearts and they became a prey to the various allurements that their opponents dangled before their eyes. Subhash must have pitied these weakelings and must have grieved for them but then he also must have come to know that in the Indian National Army itself some quislings, some traitors to the cause of independence had managed to wriggle in. A man like Subhash cannot rest without analysing the causes of retreat and immediate defeat. He confessed with an open heart

the defects which he could detect in his own strategy while he began to deal with a strong hand to rectify the weakness in the organisation of the army, weakness which came to light because of his searching analysis.

Inspite of the retreat and the defeat victory still seemed to be on the side of the National Army. Traitors had come to surface, but they were hopelessly outnumbered by patriots and martyrs. New recruitment was going on in full swing, though there was not much time left to give them full training. Then Japan began to withdraw from Imphal sector. It seemed as if she wanted to switch over to some other front. Whatever little help the National Army got from the Japanese thus ceased.

In these circumstances, Subhash decided on a last throw of the dice. After an incessant heart searching of countless days and nights he prepared a plan of reorganising the Army and of making a last supreme effort to enter India, reach Delhi and unfurl the Tricolour on the historic Red-Fort.

The month of August was running. On the 13th of that month, Subhash Babu delivered the following speech before the soldiers. In that speech he analysed the causes of their defeat and failure:

"We started operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River-traffic had to be against current. Against this the enemy had first-class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rain started; and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if their forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January we would have succeeded. In

all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also we advanced. In the Haka Sector we held them. And these all, in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.

"When the rains came we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanised divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima–Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open : Either hold on to the Bishenpur–Palel Line and not allow the enemy to advance; or fall back and hold a more advantageous position.

"What are the lessons we have learnt from this Campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted, preferred not to withdraw and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

" Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our Commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started the Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given. Our Divisional Commander and other Officers have gained much experience from this campaign.

"We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no front line propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this, we could not use it owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each Unit of the I. N. A. will have a propaganda unit attached to it. We wanted loud speakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making our own."

The above statement reflects Subhash Babu's truthfulness and greatness of heart. It also shows his ability to analyse and assess things correctly.

Then he issued two orders of the day concerning the troops. The object of these orders was to wipe out the traitorous elements. Both these orders were published on the same day and were signed by Subhash himself. I reproduce below both these orders:

I

Comrades,

As you know, the positive achievements of the Azad Hind Fauj last year on the field of battle and the victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice, were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out, and that in this year's operations the Azad Hind Fauj would be able to put up an unsullied record of heroism and self-sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of five officers of the H. Q. of the 2nd Division has come as an eye-opener to us that all is not

well with our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all, this shameful and despicable incident may, through God's grace, prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support.

In order to destroy completely the germs of cowardice and treachery, the following measures shall have to be adopted :—

1. Every member of the Azad Hind Fauj, officer, N. C. O, or Sepoy will, in future, be entitled to arrest any other member of the Azad Hind Fauj, no matter what his rank may be, if he behaves in a cowardly manner or to shoot him if he acts in a treacherous manner.

2. I am giving an opportunity to all members of the Azad Hind Fauj who may not feel inclined to work dutifully or fight courageously in future to leave the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj. This offer will be open for one week from the time of its communication.

3. In addition to giving an opportunity to unwilling elements to leave voluntarily the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj, I want to carry out thorough purge of our Army. During the course of this purge, all those will be removed against whom there is suspicion that they may fail us, betray us at the critical moment. In order to carry out this purge successfully I want your fullest co-operation and I want you, therefore, to give me and my trusted officers all available information about any cowardly or treacherous elements that may still exist in our Army.

4. It will not be enough to carry out a thorough purge now. In future, also, vigilance will have to continue. It will therefore, be the duty of every member of the Azad Hind Fauj, in future to keep his eyes and ears open in order to detect in good time any tendency towards cowardice or treachery. In future if any member of the Azad Hind Fauj detects any tendency towards cowardice or treachery he should report at once, either orally or in writing either to me or to the officers who may be within reach. In other words from now onwards and for all times, every member of the Azad Hind Fauj should regard himself as the custodian of the honour and reputation of the Azad Hind Fauj of the Indian Nation.

5. After purge has been carried out and unwilling elements have been given an opportunity of leaving our Army if there is any case of cowardice or treachery, the punishment will be death.

6. In order to create within our Army a moral bulwark against cowardice and treachery in any form, a strong feeling has to be created in the mind of every member of this Army that for a member of a revolutionary Army, there is no crime more heinous and despicable than to be coward or a traitor. Instructions are being issued separately as to how we can create such an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery so that there will be no more cowards or traitors within our ranks.

7. After the purge has been carried out, every member of the Azad Hind Fauj will be required to renew his oath to fight on bravely and courageously until the emancipation of our motherland is achieved. Instructions regarding this form and manner of this oath will be issued separately.

8. Special rewards will be given to those who give information regarding cowardly and treacherous elements or who arrest or shoot at the cowardly and treacherous elements.

II

Comrades,

In order to express our indignation, disgust and hatred against cowardice and treachery a special observance will be held in every camp of the Azad Hind Fauj, on a day to be previously fixed for the purpose. All officers and ranks must take part in the observance.

With regard to the details of the observance, each camp will be free to draw up its own programme with a view to making the observance a complete success. Directions in broad lines, however, are being issued herewith.

(a) Poems or articles may be written and read, expressing hatred and disgust against cowardice and treachery.

(b) Dramas may be improvised and acted for expressing abhorrence against cowardice and treachery.

(c) Effigies of the traitors (Riaz, Sarway, Day, Mohammad Bakhsh and others) in cardboard or straw or clay or any other suitable material, either in human or animal form, may be prepared and every member of the camp should give full vent to his disgust and hatred against traitors.

(d) Lectures should be delivered praising Indian heroes of the past and lauding the brave deeds of the members of the Azad Hind Fauj in the course of the present War of Liberation.

(e) The day's observance should end with the singing of National Anthem and collective shouting of slogans.

Special award will be given to the camp that can put up the best show.

(Sd) Subhash Chandra Bose,
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj.

Burma:
August 13, 1945.

Next day, i, e,, on the 14th, Subhash Babu delivered another speech before his comrades of the Indian National Army, in the course of which he assured the soldiers that as soon as circumstances and weather would permit, they would start their offensive again. The following is the gist of that speech:

Comrades of Azad Hind Fauj,

In the middle of March this year, advance units of the Azad Hind Fauj fighting shoulder to shoulder with their valiant allies, the Imperial Nippon Forces, crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

The British authorities by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them had managed to put a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo-Burma border our force inspired by the righteousness of our cause encountered these numerically superior and better-equipped but hetrogeneous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle.

Our units with their better training and discipline and unshakable determination to do or die on the path of India's Freedom soon established their superiority over the enemy whose morale deteriorated with each defeat.

Fighting under the most trying conditions our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice, these heroes have established their traditions which the future soldiers of Free India shall hava to uphold.

All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by assault was rendered a tactical impossibility.

Handicapped by the elements, we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of the offensive, it was found disadvantageous for troops to continue to hold the line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops. In accordance with this decision, our troops have withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position. We shall now utilize the period in full in completing our preparations, so that with the advent of better weather, we may be in a position to resume our offensive.

Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of the Anglo-American forces of aggression has increased tenfold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion to duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours.

May the souls of those heroes, who have fallen in the campaign, inspire us to nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India's liberation.

August 14, 1944.

True to the assurance that he had given, Subhash again started the wheels of activity. Preparations were again begun. The sky around Rangoon again thundered with the cries of " Jai Hind ", " On to Delhi ". " Blood, more blood" etc. A new vigour was discernible in the training camps. Subhash bid good-bye to rest and sleep. He began to formulate all-embracing plans lest his life-long dream might slip away from his hands at the last moment. His face assumed the hue of heated iron. He wanted to see that not a single link would be wanting when the next offensive was started.

This "next offensive" of the Indian National Army came off in the beginning of 1945, but it gathered real speed and its tempo increased only during March. During this offensive, the fifth guerilla regiment was placed under the command of Major General Shah Nawaz and it was to be the spear-head of the attack. Addressing this regiment, Subhash said: "Remember that our army is an army composed of revolutionaries. We have not got the same number of Troops or the same amount of equipment with us as our enemy has got. Our enemy has decided to make Imphal the Stalingrad of the East. This year is going to be a decisive year. The question of Indian independence is going to be decided in hills of Imphal and the plains of Chittagong. Our slogan this time is "Blood, Blood, more and more Blood."

But the circumstances were changing with inexorable force. The Japanese armies were retreating everywhere. They never made a show of effectively resisting the British on-slaught anywhere. According to Netaji's plans, an offensive in March would be considered an over-delayed offensive, but

as we shall presently see the real *purpose of that offensive* was "defence". If the Japanese evacuated Burma, the dream of Indian independence would vanish. Subhash did not want this to happen. He wanted to protect the Indo-Burma border at any cost.

In the third week of March, Major General Shah Nawaz pitched his tents at a place named "Puna". Under him was his celebrated regiment. The head-quarters of the second division was on Popa hills just beyond. The regiment was given the task of patrolling the country at night.

A battalion report of 4th March mentions that a patrol under the command of Abdullakhan clashed with a British patrol. The National Army patrol captured two vehicles and a wireless set from the enemy. The British patrol suffered two casualties killed. Only one soldier of the I. N. A. patrol was slightly injured.

The "Children's corps" of the Indian National Army did yeoman service and praiseworthy work during this campaign. During the battle of Burma, small members of this corps used to lie down in open country with land-mines tied on their backs and when British tanks used to pass over them, the mines used to explode smashing the tank as well as the young martyr under it to smithereens. Bravery of a higher type is unimaginable. All honour to these child-martyrs.

The Ranee of Jhansi Regiment, composed entirely of women, engaged a strong British force for 16 hours near Moulmin. Many women of this regiment were wounded during that engagement. The enemy troops had all the modern equipment of warfare at their command, while the

women's regiment had only rifles and bullets. Yet they effectively checked the advance of the Britishers for a considerable time. Of course, in the end the Ranee of Jhansi Regiment had to withdraw, but the bravery and courage which they showed in the battle of Moulmin surprised and astounded the enemy.

......Then came the time of the allied attack on Burma and the Indian National Army had to fight a rearguard action even while retreating.

During this second campaign also, some soldiers and officers of the Indian National Army had gone over to the other side, though the integrity and the morale of the army as a whole had remained intact. The Army never once let the Britishers have their own way. These brave soldiers had twice driven away the British troops right from the bank of the Irrawadi river. These British troops could only make a headway in the Japanese sector and this fact changed the whole course of the war. When Mit-Kila fell all hopes of checking the advance of the 14th Army were smashed. Japan decided to evacuate Rangoon and Subhash Babu's golden dream received a death-blow.

Yet, Subhash was Subhash. He decided to stay on in Rangoon till the end. He also decided to give a last fight. His friends and colleagues told him: "Leave Rangoon at once. You are the only hope of the Nation. The war for the liberation of Asia is yet to be fought. You will be able to save all and everything". But Subhash was impatient to lay down his life at the alter of the mother-land. For eight continuous days the officers of the army as well as the ministers of the Provisional Government persuaded him, urged him, requested him and on 22nd April, when

the Britishers changing the course of their attack began to advance straight on Rangoon, the colleagues of Subhash went to their beloved Netaji and with tears in their eyes implored him to leave the beleaguered city. It was a time when British bombs were raining on the city.

At last on 24th April, Subhash with a heavy heart left Rangoon and started off for Bangkok. Before leaving Rangoon he gave the following message to his colleagues and to his Indian and Burmese friends:

Brave officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj !

It is with a heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma we have lost the first round of our fight for independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battles against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil-field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for independence for all time.

Comrades ! At this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily then go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future greatness of Indians who will be born not as slaves but as free men because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you their forebearers fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour and the best traditions of Indian Warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's liberation will sacrifice everything even life itself, to uphold India's national honour so that your comrades who will continue to fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrows of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my ministers and high ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India I can assure you that they can continue the fight under any circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st October 1943 to do all in my power to serve the interests of 38 crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you in conclusion to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like myself that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free--and before long.

May God bless you!

INQUILAB ZINDABAD

AZAD HIND ZINDABAD

JAI HIND

Subhash Chandra Bose,

Supreme Commander,

AZAD HIND FAUZ.

24 : 4 : 45.

V

JAI HIND ! JAI SUBHASH !

ZANDAI OONCHAI RAHO JAHAN MAI

Sar–par Tiranga Zanda, jalawa dikha raha hai,
Kaumi Tirangai Zandai, oonchai raho jahanmai;
Ho teri sarabhandi jyoon chand asman mai.

Tuman haya hamara; tu san haya hamari,
Tu jit ka nishan ho, tu jin haya hamari.

Har ek basarki lut pur zari haya yai duvayain,
Kaumi Tirangi Zanda ham shobhsai oodayain.

Akash or jaminpur ho tera bol–bala,
Zook jayai terai hur taj takhatwalla.

Har komki najarmain tu aman ka nishan ho,
Ho aisai mussar saya tera jahan ho.

Mustak bai nawabi khoosh hokai ga raha hai,
Sarpur Tiranga Zanda jalwa dikha raha hai;

Kaumi Tirangai Zandai oonchai raho jahan mai !

I

VISION OF THE DREAM LAND

After Subhash Babu's departure from Rangoon, darkness descended upon earth. The stalwarts of the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government, who were purposely left behind in Rangoon did their best to fight the coming night but what can the stars or even the moon do in the absence of the life-giving Sun? Yet, they successfully finished the job that was entrusted to them—the job of delaying the advent of night.

The Provisional Government had wound up its administration before shifting its headquarters to Bangkok. It had settled its account to the last pie. Thus it gave an additional proof even at the last moment that it was not a renegade run-away government. After the headquarters of the Provisional Government were shifted to Bangkok the control of Burma passed into the hands of the Indian National Army. Here it should be remembered that though Subhash had left Rangoon on 24th April, the Japanese headquarters and the Burmese Government had left the city much earlier to be exact, on the 13th April.

The City of Rangoon remained in the hands of the Indian National Army for about 15 days and even though the whole civil administration had broken down there was not a single incident of dacoity, loot or murder during that period. It was the common experience of the people on other fronts that soldiers themselves often terrorised civil population when the power of administration came into their

hands. But it was a different case with the I. N. A. The I. N. A. detachment was kept in Rangoon for the sole purpose of protecting the people. They were given that specific job. None had forgotten the conditions that prevailed three years before when the Britishers had evacuated Burma. At that time the Indians were looted and murdered in large numbers. It was as if a festival of death and destruction for them.

Nearly 6000 soldiers and officers of the Indian National Army were detailed and detained in Burma to protect the Indians. This force was placed under the command of Major General Lokanathan. The work of the Indian Independence League was being carried on by its Vice-President Mr. J. N. Bahaduri. The British forces entered Rangoon on the 5th of May. The British commander called Mr. Bahaduri for interview and asked him searching questions about the "Indian Independence League." At last the British Commander Brigadier Lander assured Mr. Bahaduri that he (Mr. Bahaduri) would be allowed to carry on non-political activities. He even said that even though the Congress in India was not co-operating with the government in their war-efforts it nevertheless carried on work of public service and people's interest. Mr. Bahaduri liked this attitude and so he at once asked for permission to re-open the hospitals that had been closed down. This permission was readily granted and an offer for medical supplies was also made in addition. Mr. Bahaduri politely refused to accept any such help.

In the beginning the Britishers did not raise any objection to the Azad Hind Bank. Its work was allowed to be continued. But exactly after 14 days the atmosphere

changed. Military authorities took possession of the Bank. The Bank had a balance of about 35 lacs of rupees at that time. Mr. Bahaduri and other leaders were arrested one by one. It was as if the Indians were made dupes and the Britishers had broken their faith. After that the Indians were subjected to all the indignities, insults and atrocities that is the lot of a defeated people.

Until that time and inspite of all these things happening India knew nothing about Subhash Babu's activities and the Indian National Army which he created.

We do not get much details about the activities of Subhash Babu after he departed from Rangoon. We know that after a journey of about 3 weeks, Subhash reached Bangkok and established the headquarters of the Provisional Government there. While in Bangkok Subhash again formulated a plan for reorganising his army. Those were the days when Lord Wavell had returned to India with new proposals from the British Government. When Subhash heard about these new proposals he expressed grave anxiety because he was well acquainted with the ways of British diplomats. He never could have any faith in Britain's intentions. He began to warn Indians by means of his broadcasts.

He went by air to Singapore on 18th and from there started his propaganda campaign.

Lord Wavell's proposals turned out to be illusory. Yet the people were pleased to see their beloved leaders who were released after a very long period of incarceration. They literally went mad at their sight. They began to breathe freely for the first time after the repression of 1942.

The British Government stealthily began to bring captured soldiers and officers of the I. N. A. into India. Slowly but surely the stories of the atrocities that they were subjected to, began to leak out. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was then resting in Kashmir after having finished the work of the Simla Conference. He heard countless stories about the ill-treatment meted out to the members of the I. N. A. Then one day the news was published that the three stalwarts of the I. N. A., Major General Shah Nawaz Col. Prem Sehgal and Lt. Col. Gurubuxsing Dhillon were to be tried before a special court-martial. Stories began to gain currency that many such trials were to come off subsequently. The people of India knew practically nothing regarding all this. They loved and adored Subhash alright but they were still in the dark regarding the glorious work that he had done in East Asia. They also knew nothing about the Indian National Army.

Jawahar with his uncanny insight saw that something ought to be done regarding the trials that were to be instituted. He raised his thundering and influential voice against these trials. He issued a statement in the course of which he said: " All the soldiers must be released forthwith. Even if they were wrong in doing things that they have done. their sincerity of purpose cannot be doubted. They did all that for the love of their country." Even after Jawahar's statement. people could not grasp the situation fully. Some even looked with surprise at Jawahar's statement. Some even feared Government reprisals and repercussions.

Then came the historic meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Poona. Soon after the meeting of the

working Committee, a session of the A. I. C. C. was to be held in Bombay after a lapse of nearly three and a half years. The Congress Working Committee at Poona was to pass a comprehensive resolution regarding the question of the thousands of young soldiers of the I. N. A. This piece of news created a sort of expectancy in the air, Some even expressed certain feelings.

But that was all. People had till then not read the epic that Subhash Babu's bravery had written. They had not yet had a glimpse of the glorious world that the Indian National Army had created with its own blood and sacrifice.

That glimpse they got one day and that too all of a sudden. On the first day of the A. I. C. C. session at Bombay, thousands and thousands of Indians who had gathered in the great city got a shock of agreeable surprise which filled their hearts with joy. The leading Gujarati dailies, the "Janmabhumi" and the " Nootan Gujarat " and the Marathi daily " Lokamanya " came out with a wealth of detail about the astounding activities of Subhash in East Asia. The romantic story was illustrated with countless illustrations. The people of Bombay and India had never before experienced such a sense of joy and pride as they experienced on reading that enthralling story. It was the first time when the Indian people came to recognise Subhash in his true form—came to know him as the creator of a new world of "Azad Hind." Subhash who was the living embodiment of bravery came to be recognised and adored as such. The illusion that had been created around Subhash, about his being a puppet of Japan was shattered to pieces with one stroke.

Then came the publication of the book "Jai Hind." It aroused the whole land. The magic of Subhash Babu's name held everybody in its grip. The name of Subhash became a household word everywhere—from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari. The slogans of " Jai Hind " and " Chalo Delhi " electrified the whole atmosphere of our land.

......And who was it that shattered the veil of illusion that had been created around Subhash? Mr. Amratlal Sheth, the editor of the " Janmabhoomi ", group of newspapers, had arranged a trip to the Asiatic countries to witness the scenes of Japanese surrender personally and to study the conditions of the Indians residing in those countries. His plan was to visit Rangoon, Siam, Singapore, and lastly Tokyo. He was well acquainted with the Japanese world. He had a deep-rooted dislike for the Japanese imperialism and yet the Japanese tradition of bravery always had a strange attraction for him. He wanted to see for himself how the deified Emperor of Japan signed the surrender document.

But in Rangoon itself, he caught a glimpse of another Emperor, and the Empire of this Emperor, when it unfolded itself before his eyes in all its glory flabbergasted him. From Rangoon he proceeded to Siam......only to return to Rangoon more impatient than ever. The scenes of surrender to witness which he had come all the way from Bombay were totally forgotten. The story of the Provisional Government which he heard from thousands of mouths and read in thousands of places and the pictures which he saw—of course, in a dilapidated condition captured his heart and imagination. In the first flush of emotion he forgot even himself. Then he saw that the whole thing was truly astound-

ing; in fact, his own imagination had reeled before its impact. He went mad after the whole thing and returned by air straight to India. His unexpected return surprised his many friends.

The members of the Congress Working Committee heard him and saw the material he had gathered. Other Indian leaders also caught a glimpse of that glorious world of Subhash with hearts full of adoration. After that the people began to see a series of superlative word-pictures and enthralling photographs depicting the activities of Subhash. The atmosphere in the country assumed a different aspect. Everybody was as if intoxicated by the rosy vision of the world of Subhash.

II

THE RED FORT

Pandit Jawaharlal made the question of the I. N. A. his own. Around him were persons who had considerable knowledge of the activities of the I. N. A. Some members of the I. N. A. also kept in constant touch with Panditji. Jawahar arranged a lightning tour of the country—a tour during which he praised the work of the I. N. A. soldiers wherever he went. He was the first man to make the salutation of "Jai Hind" current. The slogan of "Chalo Delhi" also caught his imagination. Many times when I cast my eyes back over recent history my heart is filled with gratitude for what Jawaharlal has done. What a blow our national awakening would have received if Jawaharlalji had not taken up the crusade; and what an injustice we would have done to our comrades, who sacrificed everything including their lives at the alter of the motherland!

Jawahar's activities were two-fold. On one side he cultivated popular opinion in favour of the I. N. A. and on the other he formed a defence committee for defending the brave compatriots. An I. N. A. relief committee was also formed under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, with the sole purpose of giving financial help to the needy I. N. A. personnel.

Then, the British government committed a blunder, which perhaps has no parallel in the whole history of British diplomacy. They contemptuously spurned aside the popular demand and decided to institute proceedings against the

three leaders of the I. N. A. already mentioned. The sense of military prestige probably made them loose their head though they had to give considerable facilities for defence to the accused. The brave officers did not want the defence to be instituted for the sole purpose of saving their own skin. They told the late Mr. Bhulabhai, who was the leading luminary amongst the defence counsels, during their first interview with him: "Zindagi ka to koi sawal nahi hai. Sawal hai apni aur deshki ijjatka" (There is no question of saving our lives. The question is of upholding the prestige of the I. N. A. as well as our country).

Let us make a brief acquaintance with this brave trio:

Shah Nawaz, who has a broad forehead and broader shoulders and chest was born at Rawalpindi on 24th January 1914 in a wealthy and well-known family. After finishing his primary education, he joined the DehraDun Military College, from where also he passed out creditably. In 1936, he joined the Indian Army and in 1937 was appointed an officer in the 14th Punjab regiment. Today his bearing is such that he would look imposing in any dress.

At present 62 of his relatives are in the imperial army, He has a great dislike for communalism and a great liking for music. His love and adoration for Netaji is profound.

Col. Prem Sehgal, that youngman of 29, with bright burning eyes solid well-built body and fair skin is the son of Sir Achhuram, a judge of the Lahore High Court. After passing out from the military college at Dehra Dun, he was commissioned to the 10th Baluch regiment with which he was sent to Singapore.

Col. Gurubux Sing Dhillon, his face looking full and

round with the beard and moustache, typical of the Sikhs, was born at Lahore in 1911. This fair-skinned stalwart finished his primary education at the government school at Montgomerry, After passing matric, he joined the army as a recruit and was sent to Dehra Dun and Navgaon military school for training. He passed out with distinction from this school and was appointed in 1-44 Punjab regiment. At the commencement of the war, he was sent to Malaya and after some time was brought back to Poona for further training. When he finished his course at Poona he was sent to North Malaya. There he defended his post with conspicuous bravery against the Japanese onslaught. He saved many of his soldiers by his action.

His wife is a simple village lady, named Basant Kaur. She has picked up enough English to be able to talk in that foreign tongue. She knows Hindi and Gurmukhi also. Many of Colonel Dhillon's relatives are in the imperial army. His father had retired from the army after a service of 22 years. His two brothers are still serving in the Indian Army.

The proceedings against these brave soldiers were started on 5th November 1945 at the historic Red Fort at Delhi. Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon-these three were the accused in the first trial. The action of the Government in instituting proceedings against these heroes, who had added a unique and glorious chapter in the history of Indian Independence created a wave of discontent amongst the people. India-wide agitation was started against it, The demonstrators at Lahore, Amritsar, Lucknow, Muttra, Bombay, Calcutta and many other places had to face British lathis and bullets in holding their

demonstration but they were not daunted. They faced the inhuman rain of bullets and the hail of hot iron with smile on their lips. Hundreds of young patriots were injured all over the country. The quota of Calcutta was highest. There 36 budding youths laid down their lives while trying to honour their adored heroes.

Only the Congress which truly represented the will of the people had decided to defend the I. N. A. heroes. The Bombay session of the Working Committee appointed a Defence Committee under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and a fund for the defence and relief of I. N. A. was started. People were called upon to contribute their mite to the fund and in a short time the fund began to swell. Lacs of rupees were contributed to it by people from all walks of life.

The first trial began on 5th November at the Red Fort of Delhi. The Court Martial consisted of seven judges. Major General Blipsland was their president. The I. N. A. heroes were brought before the Court. The prosecution was conducted by Sir Nosheerwan, P. Engineer, while the defence was in the hands of the late Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Katju, Mr. Badridas (a former High Court Judge), Mr. Asaf Ali, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kunwar Sir Dileep Narayan Sing, Mr. Raghunandan Sharan and others. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, also donned the robes of a barrister,-robes which he had discarded 32 years before !

After legal formalities were gone through, the charge sheet against the three accused was read out to them. All the three were accused of waging war against the King. Over and above that, Dhillon was accused of murder.

Sehgal was accused of abetment of murder and Shah Nawaz was accused of incitement to murder.

The first prosecution witness to be examined was Colonel Nag. The Court adjourned till 21st November after recording his evidence. The case then dragged on till 13th December with some short adjournment in between. By 13th December the examination of all the principal witnesses of both sides was finished. During Bhulabhai's searching cross-examination, one Government witness stated on 28th November that he had been tutored regarding the evidence that he had to tender before the Court. He gave all the details of tutoring that he was subjected to.

On the 7th December, when the accused were asked if they had anything to say, all the three heroes emphatically pleaded not guilty.

The following are the Statements made by them before the court:–

Major General Shah Nawaz's Statement.

When Netaji arrived in Singapore, I watched him very keenly. I had never seen or met him before, and did not know very much about his activities in India. I heard a number of his public speeches, which had a profound effect on me. It will not be wrong to say that I was hypnotized by his personality and his speeches. He placed the true picture of India before us and for the first time in my life I saw India, through the eyes of an Indian. I was most impressed by Netaji's selflessness, his absolute devotion to his country his frankness and his refusal to

bow before the Japanese wishes. I knew that in his hands India's honour was safe. He would never barter it away for anything in the world. Also when I heard him give a free choice to everyone in the Indian National Army to leave its rank if they were not prepared to make extreme sacrifices and his warning to those who stayed on in the Indian National Army to be prepared to face thirst, hunger, forced marches and in the end death and when with my own eyes I saw the enthusiasm of thousands of poverty-stricken Indians in the Far East who gave to the Indian National Army all that they possessed and the whole families joined the Azad Hind Fauz and became "Fakirs" for the sake of their country. I knew we had a real leader; and when he in the name of millions of poverty-stricken unarmed and helpless Indians appealed to us to come forward and sacrifice our lives for their liberation no honourable Indian could have refused this much to him.

I found a leader and decided to follow him and for me it was the greatest and the most difficult decision of my life i. e. of fighting against my kith and kin who were in the British Indian Army in very large numbers and whom I was certain I could never induce to see eye to eye with me.

At the back of my mind was the traditional urge of loyalty to the king. I owed all my education to him. My family and tribe were one of the privileged classes in India, they were all prosperous and contented. This too we owed to the British Government and I knew that no change in India would bring them any more prosperity. In fact they were likely to suffer by it.

But on the other hand when I thought of the "striving millions" who were being ruthlessly exploited by the British and were being deliberately kept illiterate and ignorant to make this exploitation easier I developed a great hatred for the system of rule in India which to me it seemed was based on "Injustice" and to remove this injustice I decided to sacrifice my everything–my life, my home, my family and its traditions. I made up my mind to fight even against my brother if he stood in my way and in the actual fighting that followed in 1944, we actually fought against each other. He was wounded. My cousin and I were fighting each other in Chin Hill, almost daily for two months.

In short the question before me was the king or the country. I decided to be loyal to my country and gave my word of honour to my Netaji that I would sacrifice myself for her sake.

Another thing which has always upset me has been the difference of treatment between an Indian and a British soldier.

I saw with my own eyes that as far as fighting was concerned there was no difference. The Indian soldier stood his ground and fought to the last, why then there should be so much difference in their pay, allowances, food and living conditions. I have never been able to understand. It seemed to be extremely unjust.

Secondly, I would also like to point out that the Indian National Army was raised, organised, trained and led in the field entirely by the Indians. Comparatively junior officers commanded Divisions and Brigades; V. C. Os commanded Battalions, and under the circumstances they

did not do it "too boldly." But on the other hand out of two and a half millions of Indians in the Indian Army not a single officer was given the command of a Division, and only one Indian was given the command of a Brigade.

There were some very senior and competent Indian officers in the Army and it appeared to me that the lack of talent could not have been the reason for more Indians not getting higher commands. This also appeared to my mind to be very unjust.

I was a soldier and once I had taken the decision, I concentrated on fighting from the first to the last.

In September 1943, Netaji decided to select a picked regiment consisting of the cream of Indian National Army and send it into action to form the spearhead of the advance into India. It was known as "Subhash Brigade", and I was selected to command it. The Brigade took part in fighting in the Arakan, Haka-Falam and in the vicinity of Kohima.

......In joining the Indian National Army I was prompted only by motives of patriotism. I fought a straight forward and honourable fight on the battlefield against most overwhelming odds. I was further handicapped by lack of proper medical, transport and ration-supplies and for long periods I with my troops had to live on paddy and jungle grass and even salt was a luxury for us. During these operations I with my men marched over 3,000 miles in Burma.

From the Japanese we could expect nothing and they proved more of a hindrance; and on some occasions I had even to open fire at them. These facts are all in my diaries which are before the Court.

......As for the charge of abetment of murder even if the facts alleged by prosecution were true I could not be held responsible to have committed any offence. Mohd. Hussain who had voluntarily joined the Indian National Army and submitted himself to its discipline, admittedly attempted to desert and to induce others to desert at a very critical juncture. If he had succeeded in his attempt he would have carried all information about the force under my command to the enemy which would have meant complete disaster for us Under the Indian National Army Act and under the Military Codes of all civilised nations, the offence attempted to be committed was the most serious and heinous offence, punishment for which is death. It is however in fact wrong that I sentenced him to death or that he was shot in execution of a sentence passed by me......

Captain P. K. Sehgal's Statement

......In June 1942, I was invited to attend the Bangkok Conference but I declined the invitation. However during the period between June and the end of August 1942, events of very far-reaching importance took place which compelled me to revise my earlier decision to keep out of the Indian National Army. In the first place, the Japanese forces met with the most astounding successes in every theatre of the war, and an attack on India appeared to be imminent. Every one thought that the Indians would soon be exposed to a Japanese on-slaught and even the B. B. C., London, sent them messages of sympathy in their coming misfortune. The last Indian drafts that had arrived to reinforce Singapore consisted only of raw recruits and gave one a fair indication of the type of men available

for the defence of India. Officers who came to Singapore shortly before its surrender told us that there was no modern equipment available for the army in India. I was told that the soldiers were being trained with wooden rifles and light machine guns and that the defences of the North Eastern borders of India were almost non-existent.

Every one of us felt convinced that if the Japanese invaded India, there was none to resist their advance. This was the most distressing thought for all of us. In the second place, on August 8 1942, the Congress Working Committee passed the famous "Quit India" Resolution. The All India Radio Delhi, and the B. B. C. drew a curtain over the happenings in India, However certain secret stations supposed to be functioning somewhere in India and the Japanese and other Axis-controlled Radio Stations outside India broadcast freely about these happenings and the measures taken by the Government to suppress the freedom movement. From the details broadcast by these Stations a veritable reign of terror, similar to the one that had followed the revolt of 1857, seemed to have set in. In view of the complete reticence of the British and the Indian Press and the official broadcasting agency on the subject, we had no reason to doubt the correctness of these broadcasts. Needless to say that they filled us with most terrible anxiety concerning our near and dear ones whom we had left behind and with the bitterest resentment against the British Imperialism which seemed to be bent upon keeping our country under perpetual subjection.

......For days I passed through a terrible mental struggle. On the one side was my loyalty to my former comrades with whom I had fought shoulder to shoulder and on the

other was the urge to save my mother country from the horrors that stared her in the face. After a great deal of careful thought and deliberation, I came to the conclusion that I must join the Indian National Army, which must be built up into a strong, well-armed, well-equipped and disciplined force, dedicated to the cause of India. Every soldier of the Army must be prepared to make supreme sacrifice for the sake of India and the Army must be prepared to fight even the Japanese if they attempted to harm the Indians or to establish themselves in India.

I did not join the Indian National Army through my fear of Japanese ill-treatment or from any ulterior or mercenary motives. In September 1942, as an Indian National Army Captain, I only received eighty dollars a month whereas if I had stayed out of the Indian National Army I would have received one hundred and twenty dollars a month.

I joined the Indian National Army from purely patriotic motives. I joined it because I wanted freedom for my motherland and was ready to shed my blood for it. Another reason why I joined it was that I wanted to safeguard the honour of Indian women and the lives and property of my unarmed country-men in Burma, Malaya and India. I joined the Indian National Army for a noble cause and I never stooped to coerce or even to persuade any one to join the Indian National Army against his wishes. So far as I am aware, nobody ever coerced any one to join the Indian National Army. The recruitment to the Indian National Army to my knowledge was purely voluntary. The evidence given by the prosecution on this point is false. In any event, I had nothing to do with any of

the alleged atrocities and have no knowledge about them. From the very beginning I was convinced that our strength lay in our selfless devotion to our cause and my aim was that our army should be composed of only those who were willingly prepared to shed their blood for Mother India. For this very reason, before proceeding to the front I explained at great length to the officers and men under my command the noble ideals for which the Indian National Army had been raised and I also told them the grave dangers, difficulties and hardships that lay in the way of the fulfilment of those ideals. I warned every man that if he was not willingly prepared to fight and suffer for those ideals, he need not proceed to the front. Many who did not consider themselves physically or mentally fit to participate in the operations decided to stay behind. They were not subjected to any force or humiliations nor were they punished in any way. They were all transferred to the Reinforcement Group and left behind in Rangoon. On arrival on the front line I gave another chance to those who did not wish to continue in the front line, to return to the base. Those who took advantage of this offer were returned to Rangoon without being punished.

When I arrived in Popa, as I did not consider i honourable that any man should be kept in the ranks of the units under my command, and made to fight against their wishes before going into action, I expressly and publicly told all the men under my command that such of them a were desirous of going over to the British could do so a that time, provided they left their arms behind and wen in one organized party whom I assured a safe conduc through our lines.

I count a number of Englishmen and women among my very best friends. Against the English people, I never cherished any enmity. To the officers and men under my command I had issued explicit instructions that any prisoner of war captured by them, be he of any nationality, was to be treated kindly.

Till the end of November, 1944 I was Military Secretary in the Headquarters, Supreme Command, Indian National Army, and for a time officiated as Assistant Chief of Staff. In December, I was given the command of a regiment which fought in the Popa area. I took Part in this fight as a member of the regularly organized fighting forces of the Independent Provisional Government of Free India, which fought according to the rules of civilized warfare for the liberation of my motherland from foreign rule. I claim that in doing so I committed no offence. On the other hand, I have served my country to the best of my ability. I claim further that I am entitled to all the privileges of a Prisoner of War. In my Note April 28 1945, to the Commander of the British forces to whom I and the officers and men fighting under my command surrendered at Popa Hills (the receipt of which Note is admitted by the Head-quarters, Bahadurgarh Area in their letter No. I. 900-50 dated, 12-10-45 but which was stated in the letter to be "unavailable") I said quite plainly that we were ready to surrender only as prisoners of War. On receipt of this Note surrender was accepted only as objection to the terms on which we had offered to surrender and after the surrender we were actually treated as prisoners of war. Had we been told that surrender on the terms offered by us was not

acceptable to the British Commander we were determined to fight on and were in a position to do so because we were nearly six hundred strong, fully armed and equipped, and each one of us was prepared to shed the last drop of his blood for the sake of his country............

Lt. Col. Dhillon's Statement

My story is a simple one. I was enlisted as a sepoy in the 4th Battalion of the 14th Punjab Regiment on May 29 1933. In 1936, on the recommendation of Lt. Col. C. Hungerford Jackson, I was selected to do a prospective Cadet's course at Kitchner College Nowgong. Before this I had a long struggle in the ranks. Eventually, I was selected to do a Gentleman Cadet's course at the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun.

It was in this Institution that I learnt to serve my country above everything else. There I read written in the Chettwood Hall in block letters of gold: "The honour, welfare and safety of your country comes first, always and every time. The comfort, safety and welfare of the men you command comes next. Your own safety and comfort comes last, always and every time."

.........Recruitment to the Indian National Army at all times was on a purely voluntary basis. To my knowledge, no coercion or force was ever used to induce any prisoner of war to join the Indian National Army. In fact use of force or coercion for such purpose was wholly unnecessary because we always had a very large number of surplus volunteers whom we were unable to arm or put under training for want of equipment. The evidence given by

some of the prosecution witnesses that prisoners of war were sent to Concentration or Detention Camps to coerce them into volunteering is absolutely false. There was no Concentration Camp in existence at all. There was a Detention Camp to which only persons found guilty of indiscipline or other offences were sent by way of punishment. That Camp had, however, nothing to do in any shape or form with enlistment in the Indian National Army. On the contrary persons confined in the Detention Camp were not accepted as volunteers even if they offered to do so because detention in that Camp for any period indicated some defect of character which was a disqualification for membership of the Indian National Army. These witnesses have told false and distorted tales to save their own skins or to carry favour with the Government. In all lectures delivered by me I warned my audience in the clearest possible terms that they should volunteer only if they loved their country and were willing and able to bear all kinds of hardships and sufferings in her cause. At the time of going into action I again warned the men under my command that we had to fight against an enemy much better equipped and far superior in men and materials and that anybody who either for want of courage or otherwise did not wish to go to the front need not do so and could if he so desired, be sent back to the rear areas. Some of the officers and men did show their willingness and about 200 such men were sent back to Rangoon before my Regiment left Myingyan. This option I gave to my command at every stage of the campaign and it was due to this particular reason that although for weeks I stayed within two miles of the enemy lines, yet none of my men ever

went and reported my location to the Allies.

Many a time I had to go without water for 20 to 30 hours and without food for two or three days. If as a Brigade Commander I had to undergo these hardships, my men must have suffered much more and yet they accompanied me. No man who had joined under duress or coercion could have done so.

It is true that I committed four men for trial on charges of desertion and attempting to communicate with the enemy. It is however, quite untrue that those men were shot at my instance or under my orders. On the day and at the time they are said to have been shot, I was confined to bed and unable to move. In fact the sentences of death passed on these men were subsequently remitted by the Divisional Commander and were never executed.

Whatever I did, I did as the member of a regularly organized force, fighting under the Provisional Government of Free India, and am therefore, not liable to be charged with or tried under the Indian Army Act or Criminal Law of India for any offence on account of any act done by me in the discharge of my dutiès as a member of such force. I am further advised that in point of Law my trial by the Court Martial is illegal. I joined the Indian National Army with the best and purest of motives. As a member of the Indian National Army, I was able to help a number of prisoners of war with money and materials. The Indian National Army was able to protect life, property and honour of the Indians residing in the Far East. It saved the lives of many civilians and prisoners of war who had been sentenced to death by the Japanese on different charges. I successfully persuaded the Japanese to refrain

from bombing civilians and their properties in Indian towns. The Indians in the Far East showed their appreciation of the services rendered to them by the Indian National Army by contributing crores of rupees to the funds of the Provisional Government......

On 8th December, the examination of the defence witnesses began. The first to be examined was Mr. Saburo Ohta of the Japanese Foreign Office. He deposed before the Court that the Provisional Government of Free India was declared to have been duly constituted on 21st October 1943. The Japanese government treated this Provisional Government as a free government and wanted to give it all the facilities and help that it needed. The witness even produced before the Court a copy of the speech which General Tojo had delivered at the time of the conference of all the representatives of East Asia.

The witness also deposed that Mr. Hachiya was appointed a political representative for Japan at the court of the Provisional Government. Another witness Mr. Matsumoto declared: " Japan had recognised the free India government. In addition Germany, Italy, Croatia, Manchukuo, Thailand, Phillippines and Burma also had given their recognition to it. He declared that Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose had gone to Japan from Germany.

After Mr. Matsumoto's examination, the hearing adjourned for the week-end. When it was resumed on the next monday, the ex-Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan Mr. Renzo Sawada was examined. Mr Teruo Hachiya's evidence was recorded last. As we have seen, Mr. Hachiya was the Japanese representative attached to the provisional Indian govenment.

Mr. S. A. Ayar, who was a propaganda minister in the provisional government, was also examined as one of the defence witnesses. He gave the whole history of the I. N. A. and the provisional government, from the time of its inception to its end. He deposed that during the days of the Bengal famine Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose, on behalf of the free Indian government expressed a desire to donate one lac ton of rice to India but he was not allowed to send the stuff to India by the British Government.

After Mr. Ayar, Lt. Colonel Loganadan, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar islands under the Provisional Government and then the director of the Azad Hind Bank were examined. Then came Mr. Shinsingh and lastly came Captain R. M. Irshad. The defence closed its case with the examination of Captain Irshad.

The last witness to be examined on behalf of the prosecution was Lt-Col. J. A. Kitson. He came by a special plane from Java to tender evidence before the Court. Col. Sehgal along with 40 officers and 500 soldiers surrendered to Col. Kitson in a village on the banks of the Irrawadi river. He deposed in his evidence that after surrendering, Col. Sehgal told him that he fought the Britishers because he had a great dislike for their imperialist methods. He fought them to free Mother India from their yoke. Sehgal further told Col. Kitson, " I have fought for a cause which appealed to me and in the circumstances am prepared to face anything that may happen to me." Col. Kitson also deposed that there was a difference of opinion between the Japanese and the I. N. A.

After the examination of Col, Kitson, the Court adjourned till 17th December. On that day, the leading defence counsel, the late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai delivered his historic address to the Court in the sombre atmosphere of the historic Red Fort. Mr. Bhulabhai said:—

" During the last many days you have heard evidence on the two charges with which my clients, the accused before you, have been arraigned. Shortly stated, the two charges are waging war against the King and without detailing anything, murder and abetment of murder, in that certain deserters who were tried and ordered to be shot. My submission to the Court is that substantially there is really one charge before the Court, because in so far as the charge of murder is concerned, it is a part of the first charge; and I say so for this reason that it would be quite possible in the case of a charge of waging war against the King, to be able to charge every single act of firing a shot, which would be, I think, reductio ad absurdem and therefore, it will be my duty later on to point out to the Court that really and truly there is only one charge before the Court and that is waging war against the King............That is to say what International Law accepts is that two independent countries or two States, as they are called, may make war on each other, and those who carry out any action in due prosecution of the war (apart from war criminals) are outside the pale of municipal law. Alternatively, if that is not sufficient for this Court (though I submit it should be in view of what I am going to read to you from accepted authorities on International Law) under Section 79 of the Indian Penal

Code, the acts done in due prosecution of the war were not offences. Section 79 of the Indian Penal Code reads thus:

"Nothing is an offence which is done by any person who is justified by law......" And my submission to the Court is that under the terms "Law" is covered "International Law", and for that reason in so far that German —continuing the example which I was giving–who was arrested in England was concerned, his defence would be:

"My Country, my State, was at war with your States. Under the orders of my State and in due prosecution of the war I did the acts which under ordinary normal circumstances might be offences but which having regard to the circumstances are no offences at all."

Sir, it is unthinkable that any member of any organised army could be charged with any offence merely because he fought one or ten or a million men belonging to an army of the State with which he is at war. It is perfectly obvious to anybody that during the prosecution of the war the municipal law relating to that country does not apply except I quite agree when one soldier steals the pocket book of another soldier. That I appreciate, But the question which we have got to bear in mind is the very important distinction. Was that act done in due prosecution of the war which one State declared upon another?

......There was at one time the old idea that you had to be an independent State of a sovereign State in order to be able to declare war. Of course, that created a vicious circle, that a subject race will remain in perpetuity a subject race. It can never make a legitimate war for the purpose of liberating itself. Hence modern International Law has now recognised the right of subject

races which are not for the time being or at the moment independent, to be so organized, and if they are organized and fight an organized war through an organized army, the individual members of that army are unanswerable before any municipal court for what was done in due prosecution of that war.

It seems to be now settled that it is unnecessary in order to constitute a war that both parties should be acknowledged as independent nations or sovereign States. A war may certainly exist between a State and its suzerain as in the Boer War. May I appeal to this Court and all of you who are familiar with British history —what about Charles I and his death? What about the Magna Charta? What about James II? It is all recorded in history. In other words, you do reach a stage where the organization call it rebel if you like, call it insurgent —insurgents or rebels may reach a stage of organization for the purpose of liberating themselves when what they do after declaring war is subject to the laws of war.........But it is quite an unnecessary requisite. If ever a subject race finds itself in a position where its organisation is able to declare war, then acts done by the armies on either side come under this. I put a very simple question; What about the acts of those who fought on the side of the British in this War? They killed lots of people, Would they be put up before this Court under Section 302? Most amazing. It was a properly fought war, no doubt as in other wars one or the other side lost and the fact that a war is lost has no effect on the immunity from the consequences in acts done in due prosecution of the war..........."

Sir Nosheervan Engineer, answering the arguments advanced by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said:

......The question of waging war is now argued by the Defence from a new angle. It is suggested by them that these accused and others, who were similarly placed with them in Singapore, were surrendered to the Japanese by the British who failed to protect them, that on such surrender as prisoners of war in the peculiar circumstances of the case, they as Indians, were faced with the proposition of saving their country from the Japanese and were obliged to take up arms to free it, that in so doing they were justified according to the International Law in throwing off the duty of allegiance they owed to the King in favour of what they owed to the country, and that in so doing they have not committed any offence, be it called an offence of high treason or waging war. Reliance is placed on the Declaration of Independence when the duty of allegiance to the King of Great Britain was thrown off by the people of America in favour of allegiance to their Country. In view of that instance, it has been argued that those accused were free from the duty of allegiance that they owed to the King when they took an oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Free India, who had made a similar proclamation of independence. The Defence further contends that there is no obligation whatever which prevents a person who is a prisoner of war from fighting on his own for the liberty of his own country and no question of being guilty of breach of any duty of allegiance arises in such circumstances. In other words, a right to throw off their allegiance to the Crown has been

claimed by the Defence under a so-called rule of International Law, which I must point out, has not been substantiated by any authority on International Law.

It is true that there is no such thing as treason defined in any Act of British India, but the whole law of offences against the State is confined in the Indian Penal Code. Treason is an offence against the State. High treason has been defined as an offence committed against the duty of allegiance as is apparent from the cases cited by the Prosecution. The essence of waging war against the King is that the offence is against the duty of allegiance. It is nevertheless an offence against the State as discussed in the Rangoon case. In considering, therefore, one of the elements of the offence of waging war namely a breach of the duty of allegiance to the King, you may consider the aspects discussed above.

Having carefully considered all the arguments and authorities cited by both sides on this subject, it is my duty now to advise you that in my view this Court as constituted has not an unfettered discretion in the matter of admissibility of International Law, and its applicability to the facts of this case. In so thinking I am bound to point out, however, that for weighty reasons you might disregard my advice and come to a different conclusion.

I have put to you the International aspects of this case and the time has now come at which I must leave those matters and consider the evidence on the charges without reference to International law, but I must remind you that if you should come to a conclusion in favour of the accused on the propositions based upon International Law as argued by both sides and explained by me above

then you would have no need to consider what follows...

The judgment was delivered on 31st December. The judge-advocate declared the accused to be guilty.

The whole case was put before the Commander-in-Chief and his legal advisers for final ratification of the sentence. (This is always done in all the cases tried by Court Martial). The whole country waited anxiously to hear the final verdict of the Commander-in-Chief. There was an air of expectancy and speculation in the country during those days. At last on 4th January 1946, people came to know that the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck, while confirming the decision of the Court Martial, had commuted the entire sentences of the accused and ordered them to be set at liberty. Thus the three fond sons of Mother India came out of the prison at last.

86 years before, the same sombre Red Fort had witnessed another trial in many ways similar to the one we have just narrated. At that time the accused was the last Mogul Ruler Bahadur Shah and he was also charged with having waged war against the King-Emperor. The only difference between that trial and the present one was that there was nobody to defend the poor Bahadur Shah. When Subhash was in Burma, he once went to Bahadur Shah's grave just outside Rangoon to pay his homage to the memory of the great man. Standing near Bahadur Shah's grave, Subhash proudly recited the following couplet composed by Bahadur Shah:

"Gaziyun men boo rahegi jub tak iman ki
Tab to London tak chalegi teg Hindustan ki".

We hear a ring of defiance and revolt in the last words of Bahadur Shah. The same ring could also be heard in the message that the heroic trio gave to India just after their release. Every word of it reminded us of their burning patriotism. They said in that message: "We see in our release a victory of the people's will. We had pledged our lives before our Netaji to the cause of freedom and our pledge still stands. We had fought for the establishment of a united and a free India and we are going to continue that fight. We fought for justice and we did whatever we thought fit, to achieve independence for our country. It is not important for us as to who has come out victoricus in this war. We on our part were fighting for the liberation of our land and we continued to fight even when the defeat cf the Axis Powers had become apparent":

The whole country celebrated the occasion of their release. There were illuminations at many places all over India. The heroic trio thanked the people from the bottom of their heart and declared their resolve to keep the I. N. A. Tricolour flying under the aegis of the Congress.

III

SOME IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

Here are some of the documents presented before the court in the Red Fort:-

EXHIBIT 'TT'

Special order of the day

Subhash Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj, Burma.

Dated 9th February 1944.

The eyes of the whole world are focussed on the Arakan Front, where events of far reaching consequences are taking place to-day. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of Azad Hind Fauj working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nippon Army, have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American forces to start counter-offensive in this sector.

I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan Front will be a great inspiration to all the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj wherever they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long awaited march to Delhi has begun and with grim determination we shall continue that march until the Tricolour National Flag that is flying over the Arakan mountain is hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge and until we hold our victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi.

Comrades, officers and men of the India's Army of Liberation : Let there be one solemn resolve in your hearts-

'Either liberty or death.' And let there be but one slogan on your lips, 'Onward to Delhi.' The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. Victory will certainly be ours.

Inqilab Zindabad : Azad Hind Zindabad.

EXHIBIT 'P'

Special order of the day
by
Subhash Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander
Azad Hind Fauj
(Indian National Army).

In the interests of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj, I have taken over the direct Command of our Army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride because for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to fulfill my duty to Indians under all circumstances, however, difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as the servant of 38 crores of my country men, who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crores may be safe in my hands and every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our

Motherland, for the establishment of a Government of free India, based on the good will of 38 crores of Indians and for creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian Independence for all times, the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will, have only one goal, namely the freedom of Indians and only one will namely to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite; when we march the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the justice and in the invincibility of our cause. 38 crores of human beings who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birth right of liberty any longer.

Comrades, officers and men ! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India's Liberation. Ultimate Victory will certainly be ours, I assure you. Our work has already begun.

With the slogan, 'Onward to Delhi' on our lips, let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its Victory Parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of the Indian Metropolis.

(Sd.) Subhas Chandra Bose,
Supreme Commander.
(Sipah Salar).

General H. Q.
Indian National Army.
25th August, 2603.

Decorations A. H. F. Personnel.

335. The following will be the order of precendence for Decorations awarded to members of the Azad Hind Fauj by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind:—

1. Shaheed-e-Bharat.
2. Sher-e-Hind.
3. Sardar-e-Jang.
4. Veer-e-Hind.
5. Tamgha-e-Bahaduri.
6. Tamgha-e-Shatrunash.

II. In future there will be two classes of the "Sardar-e-Jang" Medal according to the standard of individual bravery, devotion to duty and leadership exhibited in the field.

The awards of "Sardar-e-Jang" Medal made up-till now will be of Class I of that medal.

III. Members of the Azad Hind, who render meritorious and commendable service in the field, but fall short of qualifying for a decoration, will be granted the certificate "Sanad-e-Bahaduri," by the Head of the State, Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The award of Tamgha-e-Shatrunash is of the following classes:—

Class II : to be awarded to those members of the Azad Hind Fauj who kill or capture alive any British or American offcer or other rank either in single combat or in a group fight where qualities of individual initiative and individual bravery come into play.

Class I : to be awarded to those members of the Azad Hind Fauj who exhibit conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty in killing or capturing alive any British or Ame-

rican officer or other rank either in single combat or in a group fighting where qualities of individual initiative and individual bravery come into play.

Precendence, etc.

The Medal 'Tamgha-e-Nash' shall take precendence after 'Tamgha-e-Bahaduri.' This medal may be awarded to a member of the Azad Hind Fauj in addition to any other decoration for which he may have qualified.

"Tamgha-e-Shatrunash" may also be awarded post-humously.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind has decided that the Medal "Tamgha-e-Shatrunash" may be awarded to any person other than a member of the Azad Hind Fauj, whether outside India or inside, who, while participating in or helping the war of India's Liberation, qualifies himself for the decoration by fulfilling the conditions laid down above.

This medal may also be awarded to any person out side India of inside-who helps the prosecution of India's War of Liberation by killing or capturing alive any British or American, other than Army personnel, who is clearly an enemy in the path of India's freedom.

EXHIBIT 'Y'

Azad Hind Fauj Orders
by
Lieut. Colonel Aziz Ahmad Khan.
No. 11. Unit.

Burma Dated 30th October, 1944.

Appointments-officers :

During the absence of the Supreme Commander

A. H. F., from H. Q. No. 11, Unit, Lieut. Col. Aziz Ahmad Khan will deal with all routine and urgent matters which would ordinarily have been dealt with by the Supreme Commander.

Lt. Col. Aziz Ahmad Khan will, during this period, exercise the powers of the Chief of Staff.

War Council:

445. Since the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the 21st October, 1943, a year of intensive activity has elapsed. In the meantime the war has reached a stage when the initiative is going to pass from the hands of our enemies to those of our friends and of our Allies. To prepare for the coming offensive it is absolutely necessary to make an all out effort at Total Mobilisation and to further intensify and co-ordinate all our activities connected with our war-preparations. In order to achieve this objective, a special organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has to be set up. The War Council of the Provisional Government has, therefore, been formed. The War Council which is the supreme organ of the Provisional Government for directing and controlling the war effort and the war preparations of the Government will have the following duties :

1. To further intensify the war activities of the Provisional Government.

2. To initiate any new activities that will be found necessary for the war effort and for war preparations.

3. To co-ordinate all these activities with a view to producing the maximum result namely, to launch the offensive that will bring about the speedy and complete overthrow of our enemies.

The following is the composition of the War Council:-

1. Colonel I. K. Bhonsle.
2. Colonel M. Z. Kiani.
3. Lt. Col. Ehsan Qadir.
4. Lt. Col. Aziz Ahmad Khan.
5. Lt. Col. Habib-ur-Rehman.
6. Lt. Col. Gulzara Singh.
7. Shri N. Raghavan.
8. Shri S. A. Ayer.
9. Shri Parmanand.
10. Col. A. C. Chatterji. Secretary.
11. Shri A. Yellappa, co-opted member.

(Sd) D. C. Nag.
Major
" A "

EXHIBIT 'MM'

On examination it was ascertained that the enemy dead were British and from the documents captured, it was confirmed that they belonged to 2nd Lancaster Regiment.

The documents which were captured from the enemy will be sent in due course. The Map sheet which was captured from the enemy is sent to you.

Our losses were one slightly wounded.

From the documents found in the cars it appears that upto the end of Nov. 44, 2nd. Bn. S. Lancer were in Kohima in Dec. They moved to Palel and the Bn. has now arrived in this sector from Palel.

On the same date enemy with 7 lorries 3 carriers stren-

gth about 200 mostly Indians and few Americans were seen 9 miles from Kyauk Padaung on Kyauk Padaung Taungfin road. When they saw our patrol, they showed a white flag but when our patrol called them they tried to open fire. Patrol being weak in numbers came back.

5th March 1945-Out post and forward patrols of No 515 unit saw an enemy composed of 4 tanks and about 500 infantry operating in Daungle area. As a result of some fire from both sides the enemy withdrew.

Patrols of 420 units found some enemy about 9 miles from Kyauk Padaung on Kyauk Padaung Taungzin road near a village Dhatsi. They were digging. This appears to be a permanent position.

On Kyauk Padaung Meiktilla road, small forces of enemy supported by tanks have also been reported by 420 units.

Your Excellency's obediently
(Sd.) G, S Dhillon.

EXHIBIT 'OOO'

Sadar Daftar Ala Kaman, Azad Hind Fauj,
Rangoon 12th March 1945.

Major G. S. Dhillon,
Jai Hind,

I have been following the work of your Regiment and of yourself with the closest interest and I want to congratulate you on the manner in which you have stood up to face bravely the situation that is difficult. I want to express my complete confidence in you and in all those who are standing by you in the present crisis.

Whatever happens to us individually in the course of this historic struggle, there is no power on earth that

can keep India enslaved any longer. Whether we live and work, or whether we die fighting, we must, under all circumstances, have complete confidence that the cause for which we are striving, is bound to triumph. It is the finger of God that is pointing the way towards India's freedom. We have only to do our duty and to pay the price of India's liberty. Our hearts are with you and with all who are with you in the present struggle which is having the way to our national salvation. Please convey my warmest greetings to all the officers and men undery ou and accept same yourself. May God bless you and crown your efforts with success.

"Jai Hind."

(Sd.) Subhash Chandra Bose.

EXHIBIT 'QQQ'

Burma,

20th March, 1945.

Beloved Netaji,

Jai Hind,

I have received your letter of the 12th March 1945. Not words, only tears could express my feelings.

I thank you with all my heart for expressing your complete confidence in me and in those who are with me. I assure you, our Netaji, on behalf of the Regiment that does not matter what may come in our way, we will continue the struggle according to your ideals and wishes to earn our Mother Land's Freedom as long as a single soldier of this Regiment is alive.

As for myself, my last words to you, at Rangoon, "Main ap ki ankhen kisi ke samne nichi na hone dunga."

have been ringing in my ears ever since I left you, and specially so after I have come back from Nyaungw I fully realize that in spite of reason, which may be produced, I have not only failed to do what I voluntarily promised, but have been the only Regimental Commander to bring humiliation to you and to the Azad Hind Fauj. I have no face to promise again, only my action will do so.

Your letter has put a new spirit into us.

All the officers and men present here, and I, humbly and with warmest hearts have accepted your greetings. We are confident that by God's grace and your blessings, it will not be difficult to achieve success.

We all pray for your long life and health to guide us through this Holy War.

Jai Hind.

Your Excellency's obediently
(Sd.) G. S. Dhillon.

IV

ALIVE OR DEAD

The last broadcast of Subhash Babu was heard on August 17th. Six days after that, people were stunned to hear that Subhash Babu had died in an air-crash while proceeding from Singapore to Tokyo. It was as if a stroke of lightning had struck the whole land. People reeled back under its first impact. After the flush of excitement spent itself, people began to speculate and hopes began to be expressed from many quarters that the news would prove false. Once before in the month of March 1942 such a thing happened and that sustained people's hopes. These hopes in their turn lessened the severity of the shock to a degree. Days passed but the eagerly awaited contradiction of the news about Subhash's death did not come. On the contrary more details about the air-crash, place where it occurred, how it occurred, etc., began to come through. Then came the details regarding the names of persons who were with Subhash Babu till the end and the place where Subhash Babu's last rites were performed. This broke the heart of the Indian people. Our popular leaders at last began to believe that the news must be true. Many even gave their tributes to the memory of Subhash.

The writer remembers the scene vividly even today because the scene has left an indelible impression upon his mind. One night Sharat Babu, accompanied by his nephew, went to the offices of the 'Janmabhoomi' group of newspapers. Mr. Amritlal Sheth received him and then the two

began to talk about the I. N. A. and the Provisional Government of Rangoon. Mr. Sheth began to narrate the romantic and enthralling story and the lines on Sharat Babu's face began to change. It was apparent that he was trying to suppress the emotions that were welling up in his heart. The brave brother of Subhash did not want his grief to be made a public affair—and was not the whole story a matter of profound pride for him?

.........But the sense of pride and the sense of glory could not after all dam the flow of emotions and flood of tears which he had contrived somehow to hold back flew unchecked when the various photographs of Subhash Babu were placed before him. In the wealth of literature and other material which Mr. Sheth put before him by way of illustrating and supplementing his own story of the I. N. A. exploits, there was one portrait which held Sharat Babu's attention for a considerable time. It depicted Subhash in military attire, taking the salute of the Indian National Army. When this and similar portraits were placed before him, Sharat Babu could not hold back his tears. He sat still for a considerable length of time with eyes closed as if trying to conjure up a vision of his dear brother. Then he again took up the files, went through more pages and again wept. Tears were the only manifestation of his grief. Otherwise, not even a sigh of grief escaped his lips. A strange intermingling of pride and grief was evident on his face. None, who was present there, could withhold his or her tears.

A few more days passed and again the atmosphere changed. Various I. N. A. soldiers began publicly to express their faith that Subhash could not be dead. Their argument

was simply this: Netaji cannot die. Incessant bombardment was not able to kill him. How then could a simple accident kill him ? He must be somewhere in hiding, worshipping at the shrine of liberty. Lt. Col. Laxmi also shared this faith. Then Gandhiji said one day: " I have full faith that Subhash Babu is alive." The hearts of people were again stirred. They read various meanings into Gandhiji's declaration about their beloved Netaji. Anyway, their sense of grief disappeared.

But this happy state again did not last long. Maj. General Shah Nawaz declared: "Gandhiji's faith is born of wishful thinking. The unpleasant facts belie this faith." Then came the statement of Col. Habibur Rehman, who travelled with Subhash Babu himself during that so-called last fateful journey. He declared that he had seen with his own eyes Subhash Babu breathe his last. He was in the same plane in which Subhash travelled and which crushed in Formosa. He said he was with Subhash during his last moments. He even brought a last message from Subhash, which was to the following purport.

"Tell my countrymen how I have fought, till the last moment of my life for the liberation of my motherland. I have sacrificed my life at the alter of service to my country and I expect my compatriots also to do the same."

Col. Habibur Rehman had brought with him wrist-watch that Subhash Babu was wearing at the time of the air-crash. He had even brought the holy ashes of Netaji's body.

Col. Habibur Rehman's statement again sent a wave of grief and anxiety over the land. Gandhiji also lost his

faith. He declared: " I have no specific information. I expressed what my heart echoed. But I cannot disbelieve the story that Col. Habibur Rehman has told me."

Inspite of all this, hopeful news did not cease to come. Some said Subhash was in Manchuria, some said Subhash was in India, some said he was heard on radio, some said he never travelled by the aeroplane which crashed in Formosa. The latest story is that he is organising new forces in Russia. Even now many days do not pass without some such news appearing in the columns of our newspapers.

In these circumstances, it is very difficult to sort out the wheat from the chaff. Our common sense also cannot lead us to any definite conclusion. Yet, it seems certain that during the next three months something definite about Subhash will be known. Some would ask: "If Subhash is alive, why should Col. Habibur Rehman not say so?" There is an answer to this argument. If Subhash is in hiding, Col. Habibur Rehman cannot make any declaration about his being alive. Others would ask "Why should Subhash remain in hiding now ? What purpose does it serve? " This argument also can be answered thus: "If Subhash returned to India before India attained complete independence, he would be arrested and sent to prison under some pretext or another. So why should he not remain in a place where there is a strong anti-British feeling and organise the resources according to his own light ?"

Considering all the points of view, I come to the following conclusion:-

If India becomes free in the near future or else if she gets enough power which gives "substance of independence" and makes it unnecessary for Indians to wage any war-violent

or non-violent for the attainment of India's freedom. Subhash will return from whatever place he may be.

But if the circumstances do not take the happy turn visualised above and India has to fight yet another war of independence, Subhash will appear on the international scene to add his quota to the fight for independence that might be going on in India. He will create such colossal agitation in the inter-national field that the whole world will be astounded. The next three months will tell us which way the scales are going to tip-whether we are to have a fight or not. If Subhash is alive, the Indian people will not have to remain ignorant of his existence for a very long time. If we are fortunate, we might even get his "Darshan."

......But what if he is dead? The mere contemplation of the idea unnerves me. My hand shakes, my pen refuses to move any further. My emotion and intellect both revolt against idea. They cry out "Jai Hind! Jai Subhash.!"

V

LOOSE GEMS

I have been fortunate in contacting many I. N. A. soldiers and officers recently. All these brave sons and daughters of India have appealed to me with their burning sense of patriotism and service. Between 1920 and 1942 there have been various fights for freedom inside India. The Indian men, women and children, the aged and the young, the peasant and the workers—all have shown astounding bravery during each fight but somehow or other the feeling has not escaped me that after each fight there has been a considerable ebb in the morale and spirit of the people. I have felt as if the bravery which was the object of my pride had totally disappeared. Of course, there ought to be heart-searching and self-purification at the end of each fight, but it should not lead the morale of the people into another channel or altogether suppress it. We are very much adept at finding each other's faults after the failure of a struggle. This attitude also makes itself manifest in the discussion that goes on about violence and non-violence. Many times I have thought that India has not yet cultivated the ability to digest defeat.

The Indian National Army created by Subhash gives us a glimpse of something totally different. If we talk to the soldiers of the I. N. A. for hours on end, we would not be able to discern even a trace of diffidence in them. Their adoration for Netaji has not at all decreased. All that they have suffered is a matter of pride and glory for

them and we also get infected with that exhilerating sense of pride and glory when we talk to them. We feel as if the fact of their defeat at the hands of the Britishers has not touched them at all. They don't seem to take notice of it. Nor do they seem to believe that the war of independence has been lost. When we contemplate how deeply Subhash Babu must have touched and stirred the hearts of these soldiers and how these soldiers must have responded to his call for bravery and sacrifice, we feel like bending our heads in humiliation before the supreme commander of this unique army.

Lt. Col. LAXMI

After Subhash comes Lt. Col. Laxmi, as far as the power of capturing people's imagination is concerned. After the defeat of the I. N. A., there has been a spate of news regarding Col. Laxmi. All these items of news emphasise one potent fact and it is that the unbending spirit of that brave daughter of India has not at all been curbed. Even after defeat, Col. Laxmi and others celebrated the free India government-day on 21st October. Britain was reigning supreme. The military guards were still not withdrawn, yet thousands flocked to Rangoon to salute the Tricolour. About a thousand I. N. A. soldiers also took part in the celebrations. A big portrait of Subhash was placed on the dais with a wreath of flowers around it. The historic song of "Kadam Kadam Badhaye Ja" was also sung on the occasion.

On that occasion Lt. Col. Laxmi advised the people and the soldiers as to what they should do. She placed three ideals before the audience: (1) Remember that we have to give our tributes to those who have become

martyrs in the cause of the country not by words but by deeds. (2) Remember the promise that we have given to our Netaji Bose-not to rest content till freedom is won, (3) Remember that it would not be possible to continue our struggle from outside India. We must reach our land of birth as soon as possible.

One another incident is worth recording here. The British authorities had arrested the women soldiers of the Ranee of Jhansi regiment. One of the arrested persons was Col. Laxmi. The British officer asked each of the ladies if she knew how to use arms. When the same question was posed before Col. Laxmi, she replied: "Only personal experience can answer your question." The British officer asked as to which of the arms Col. Laxmi could use. Col. Laxmi replied; "I can use pistol, revolver, tommy gun, atkin gun, machine-gun and many other things." The answer to the third question finished the British officer. He asked: "What would you have done if I had met you on the battlefield?" Col. Laxmi replied without hesitation; "I would have shot you dead."

The Children's Army

It was the time when British forces were making new withdrawals everyday. They were fleeing as a deer flees before a tiger. The British Government had made no arrangements to protect people's lives or their properties. The Japanese were massed in large numbers and in addition they were intoxicated with their rapid victory. The lives of Indian civilians were in deadly peril. The Japanese could not be entrusted with the responsibility of protecting these civilian lives. Indian guards were needed for the

purpose and Netaji gave the call. He said: "Wake up, you guardians of our honour, wake up. We have to atone for the sin that our forefathers committed in 18th century by opening the gates of their country to foreign traders. The awakened and impatient nationalism of India cannot wait."

......And who can remain silent when Netaji gives the call? Budding youths flocked to him to liberate their land and to protect their own compatriots from the hands of miscreants. They boldly replied to Netaji: " We are ready ", and Netaji created out of them a thing which is unique in world history. These creations might be termed " youngsters' army."

In this army young lads from 17 to 20 years of age were recruited. Day by day the size of the army grew bigger. This army was given the same type of training that the regular soldiers used to receive. They were taught the use of arms also. National patriotic songs and inspiring stories were a part of their education.

Netaji also prepared a plan of sending these lads to Royal Military Academy at Tokyo for further training. The first batch comprising of 35 members was sent out to Tokyo in March 1944. The second batch consisted of only 10 members. The ship that carried this batch was torpedoed near Phillippines, though fortunately all the young aspirants, except one Vishansing, saved themselves by swimming ashore.

When Netaji gave the call of "Chalo Delhi" these young and intoxicated youths refused to be left behind. They also reached the front and gave the enemy a hell of a time with their unorthodox and ingenous ways of warfare. Once

when a British tank force was advancing on an I. N. A. formation and when it seemed that everything would be lost if the tanks were not routed, these young warriors found out a way of stopping them—a way which will make the subject of an epic for the coming generations.

These young lads tied land mines on their backs and lied down in the way of advance of the British tanks. The tanks passed over them and were smashed to pieces by the exploding land mines which lay hidden behind the backs of the brave martyrs. The exploding mines blew up to pieces the bodies of the brave lads also but who cared as long as the tanks could be stopped! Any nation can legitimately feel proud for having produced such sons. Their parents could be said to have fulfilled their life's mission by bringing forth such sons.

At the time of his departure from Rangoon, Netaji gave a special message to this army of youngsters. He said: "My dear children! I have no children of my own but to me you are dearer than my own sons and daughters because you and I both have one supreme aim in life—the liberation of our Mother-India. I have always been with you in spirit and will always be. May god protect you. Jai Hind."

Subhash once wrote the following letter to a student who was sent to Tokyo for training: "For me, your memory will ever remain fresh. I am proud of you and I have complete faith in you. After you become a full-fledged soldier, you have to take up the task of guarding the freedom of our land from any danger."

After the defeat of Japan, the allied guards placed in Tokyo arrested the Indian students who were sent there

by Subhash for training. After keeping them in Tokyo for some days, the allies packed them off to a distant place under the charge of Colonel Peterson. They embarked from Yokohama and after about a week landed in Manilla, where they were given over to the Australian military authorities. Thereafter they were taken to Hongkong under military escort. The military guards snatched away all the valuable and useful things that the student had at the point of bayonet, while they were on the high seas.

In Hongkong, they were placed in strict confinement. Yet the spirit of the students was not broken. They always declared that they were fighting for their freedom and that they considered British rule an evil, which must be eleminated. Whenever they said such things, they were subjected to lathi-charges, bayonetting and such other things. At times, they were made to run like horses. The atrocities and indignities that these students were subjected to were such as would rend anybody's heart. On December 10th of the last year, a batch of these students landed in India and they made public the black deeds which have been enumerated above. The world would do well to remember that even if British Imperialists shoot these boys dead, even if they send them to the gallows, let loose hell and fire and fury over them, their undaunted spirit, their patriotism, their glorious tradition shall never die.

Japan's Stooges ?

I have once the good fortune of meeting an I, N. A. soldier who was the common lot. Describing the present condition of the I, N. A, personnel and their dependents he said: " It is difficult to estimate the figure of those

who were killed in the war but it is known that the dependents of those who were killed number about 15,000. The disable and maimed number about 2,000. The disbarded and released number about 35,000." I got an idea of the vastness of the work which confronts us in the way of giving relief to these I. N. A. men. I saw that the field of our work needs to be expanded manifold.

His adoration for his Netaji was profound. I think there must have been very few commanders who have secured such lasting love and affection of all the ranks under his command.

I asked him if Japan exercised any influence over the provisional government and the Indian National Army. At once, signs of anger became evident on his face. He said, making a gesture of exasperation: " It is a pity, people who believe this still flourish in India."

Then he told me the story of formation of the Indian National Army and the engagements which it fought. He said: " When we were sent to the front we were specifically given a message, signed by the supreme commander, in which we were exhorted to uphold the prestige of India and not to lag behind the Japanese in any form of warfare.

Our commander, giving us instructions as to how we should behave when we reached India, told us: " The soil of India is like the mother's lap for you. When you set foot on that soil, you have to be exceptionally well-behaved. Treat all the aged persons when you see there as your elders. The youth of that land of ours must be treated as your colleague. The women whom you accost there should be respected from the bottom of your

heart as either mothers, sisters or daughters. If any soldier is seen to go against these instructions, then he is to be shot dead without waiting for anybody's orders. At the time of your entry into the land of free India, the armies of our friends, i. e. the Japanese, will also be with you. If you see any Japanese soldier misbehaving, you should not hesitate to deal severely with him also......and if any Japanese tries to insult you do not put up with it. If you are given one slap, give three slaps in return, because we are Japan's equals-not her serfs."

When I bade good-bye to this soldier, my heart was filled with a profound sense of satisfaction and adoration.

The Ranee of Jhansi

The spirit with which Mrs. Lilavati Chhaganlal Mehta and her young daughter of about 18 years, Miss Ramabai narrated the story of the I. N. A., the Ranee of Jhansi regiment and their beloved Netaji made me agreeably surprised and elated. Each and every word they uttered reflected the morale and the undying emotion which the Indian National Army of Netaji and the activities of the provisional government had generated in the hearts of even those who are traditionally considered to be the weak and tender sex. The Indian National Army had lighted up such a bonfire of burning patriotism in the hearts of everybody who came in its contact that even today it still keeps on burning giving heat and light all around. This same fire was still found to be raging in the hearts of these two women.

Lilavatiben, who is about 40, joined the Ranee of Jhansi regiment, along with her two daughters Nilamben.

who was then 18, and Rama Bai, who was then 16. They Joined the regiment when it was inaugurated in Rangoon.

Lilavatiben had two young sons one of whom succumbed to typhoid when the activities of the I. N. A. were going on in full swing in Rangoon. The boy died with the national anthem on his lips and the dream of free India still hovering before his eyes, and after his death the grief-stricken mother took up national work with redoubled vigour and plunged headlong into the fight for freedom along with her two daughters and the remaining son. She worked as a fund-collector as well a recruiting officer for the Indian National Army, while her two young daughters enlisted themselves as regular recruits in the Ranee of Jhansi regiment. The young son joined the children's army. Thus this Gujarati family, bidding good-bye to all the finer things of life and setting aside all fear, prepared itself to make the total sacrifice for the liberation of the motherland.

In answer to my question regarding their daily routine in the Ranee of Jhansi regiment, the vivacious, energetic, bobbed-haired Ramaben said: "We were nearly 700 strong. We always used to move about in uniform. We were all kept under strict military discipline. There used to be flag-salutation ceremony every morning and evening. After break-fast, we used to go out for drill and after drill regular military parade used to be held. All the women were being trained in the use of modern weapons. We learnt how to use pistols, rifles, sub-machine guns, bren-guns, tommy-guns, light machine-guns, two-inch mortar and such other things. We even learnt how to handle small

artillery. In our regiment there were two divisions-one combatant and the other nursing, though many of us liked to be in the combatant division. Our sisters in the nursing division also were trained in the use of arms. We all used to take our meals together. Our soldierly life was not a bed of roses. Every week, there used to be a big parade and at that time we had to march for nearly 30 miles without rest. This proved to be a bit trying in the beginning, but afterwards we used to enjoy it immensely.

During my interview with these two ladies, I, all the while kept on wondering as to which of the two was more spirited-more energetic. I could not decide the question till the end. The mother was nearly 40, yet her spirit was such that it would put a youngster of 25 to shame.

Lilavatiben narrated an interesting incident while talking about Netaji. She said: " Netaji was once going to visit a hospital. All of a sudden, enemy aeroplanes appeared over-head. Netaji was on the road at that time. We all requested him to get down and take cover and he at last got down and went to a village tea-shop in a nearby hut. When he was standing there, bombs rained all around. One bomb fell right on Netaji's motor car and it was smashed to smithereens...but Netaji was completely unhurt. "

I asked him what was their future programme. They replied: " We wish to stay in India and work for the freedom of our country under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. We have not lost any of our old spirit. We are very much glad to be back in the land of our birth."

After this, I bade good-bye to these two brave laides.

During my journey home I was all the while muttering a Gujarati couplet, which glorified the women, who, even though could not handle a penknife formerly, was the goddess Bhawani herself.

What a revolution Netaji had created !

VI

THE PAGES OF HISTORY

The last portions of this book have been written when the writer could not detach himself from the influence of a heart-felt wish and prayerful faith that Subhash Babu is alive. Time is not yet ripe to evaluate Subhash Babu's life and his life work. When the future historian of the world sits with his pen poised to write the epic of the Indian War of Independence, he will have to go to the plains of Imphal and the summits of Arakan before proceeding any further, because only those plains and those summits will be able to tell him then, the story of Subhash Babu's sacrifice, suffering and intellectual achievements. He will have to roam about the Eastern waters, riding on the surging billows coaxing them to narrate the history that Subhash created. Each and every stone, each and every tree, each and every river or brook in Burma and Malaya has its own story to tell about Subhash and these stories shall have to be heard and recorded. The I. N. A. will have changed recognition by then, but the eternal flood of inspiration which Subhash has let loose will still be flowing and the future historian will have to take a dip in it. The present attempt to review the activities of Subhash Babu is an attempt of a novice-a student who himself is a lover of India's freedom. The present evaluation has therefore nothing more to it.

A person trying to evaluate the worth of Subhash Babu's activities must first study the conditions under which Subhash

worked. In addition, a close acquaintance with the political current of India and the world is also essential so as to be able to gauge correctly the causes and effects of his successes and failures. It must be admitted that Subhash has not been successful in making India independent...At the same time it also must be admitted that he kept the flag of Free India flying aloft in greater East Asia for nearly two years and established a Provisional Government, which could stand comparison with any war-time Government of the world. These are two examples of Subhash Babu's failures and successes.

The reasons why Subhash preferred to leave the land of his birth are now no longer secret. He has opened his heart before us in this book. We have seen that Subhash during his last days in this country was seen to have gone very much against the existing political current. If we examine that aspect more deeply, we shall see that his individualistic approach to the political problems made itself manifest as early as 1921. This individuality–it is too early to use the word difference yet–could not very much come to surface, because Subhash spent most of his time either in jails or roaming abroad. The histories of the revolutions of various countries were his constant source of inspiration. He was not ignorant of the conditions in India. His heart always bled at the sorry plight of his dear mother-land. His patriotism was of the highest type. Yet he always has shown a leaning towards revolutionary experiments. Government branded him as an accomplice of the revolutionaries even when he was just starting his political career. Reading Subhash Babu's speeches, one would really be inclined to believe that he really must have been in touch



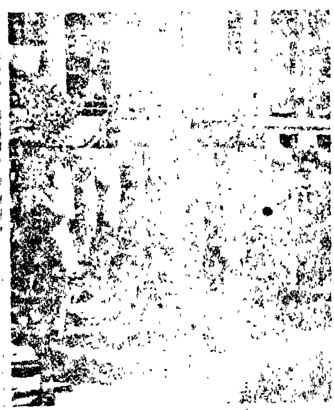
Salute the modern Ranee of Jhansi

Port Darwin Par... Dushman Ke 26... Spitfire Ag Ki Nazr

Hindustan Ki Azad... Fauj ka W... ...ad Asl Maqsad Hai

New Guinea Men Dushman Salon Par Lagatar Hamle

"British Air U S Ko Tabah Karne" Ke Shandar Jalse



I.N.A. March Past Ka Nazara

New York Men Hartal

...ky Fauj Party ...Se Wapas

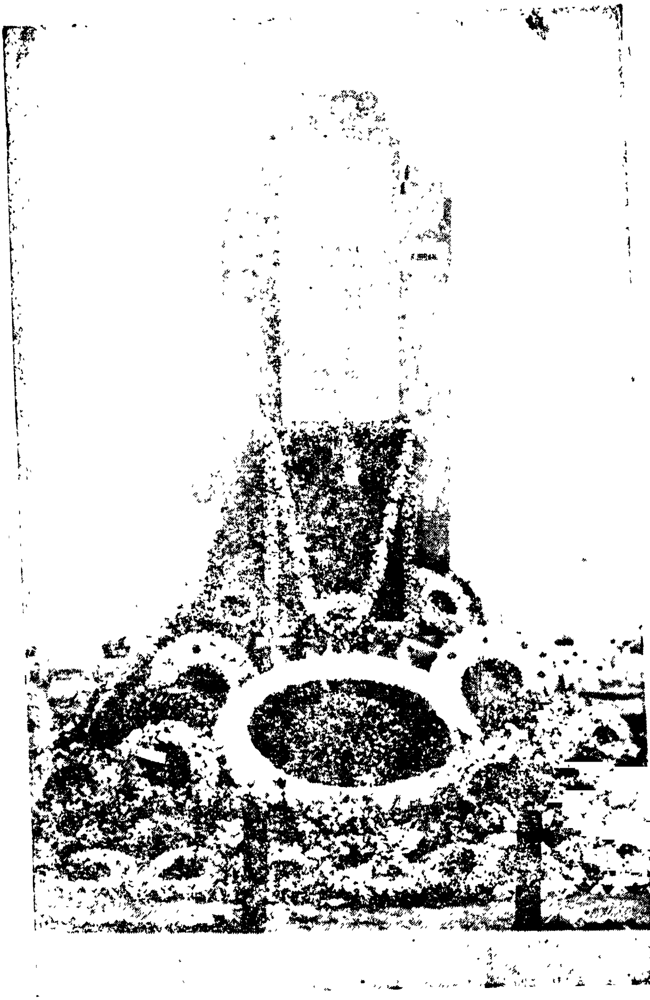
...d Washington Men

I.N.A. Parade Par Prem. Tojo Ka ...

Freedom of India–that is our only aim



Yes, it is better to starve and die fighting for freedom, than to be slaves and eat out of your masters' hands



Singapore errected this memorial to the I. N. A. martyrs...........but Britain demolished it!

with the Indian revolutionaries. The feelings of love and devotion which he entertained for Gandhiji were born of the fact that Gandhiji was responsible for the new strength that was discernible in the country.

Subhash has never accepted the ideals of Gandhiji in toto. He had seen that if the British authority in India was to be opposed, full co-operation of the masses was a pre-requisite and the co-operation of the masses could only be obtained if the fight was led by Gandhiji. That was why he often used to urge Gandhiji to start direct action and that was why he many times came into conflict with Gandhiji. Subhash has never doubted Gandhiji's honesty and truthfulness and Gandhiji in his turn has always been lavish in his praise of Subhash Babu's strength, ability and burning patriotism. Looking at it from this point of view, we see that the difference of opinion between them was based on basic principles-there was nothing personal in it. It seems that Subhash Babu was like a square peg in the round hole of Congress politics. The plans which he had conceived were not considered to be practicable in India of those days. If we examine these things more minutely, we come to the conclusion that neither Gandhiji nor Congress could be considered responsible for the difference which existed. The hold which Gandhiji had over the people was also not a barrier in the way of Subhash. The real barrier in the way of Subhash, who wanted unadulterated revolution, was the unarmed state of the people and the armed might of the British Empire. Even if the hand of Subhash had been guiding our 1942 struggle, it is doubtful if he would have been able to create the glorious world in India which

he so successfully did in South East Asia.

Subhash could form the I. N. A. and establish a Provisional Government there, because he had received promises, which might have been real or otherwise, of help from the Imperial Government of Japan. A war against Japan was not at all contemplated while in India the organisation would have to be set up while fighting against Britain–and that too after 150 years of slavery.

Subhash saw this and he went out of India. He did not believe that the British power could be smashed only by civil disobedience and non-co-operation. He believed that only armed might could smash Britain and that might could not be cultivated without the friendly help of the enemies of Britain. If we can grasp well this line of Subhash Babu's thought-processes it would not be difficult for us to understand the difference which existed between him and Gandhiji. There is neither the question nor the ground for comparison between the two. Subhash was the traveller of a totally different path. His own journey on that path shows us the strength which his legs possessed. Even the bitterest enemy of Subhash-who is probably the enemy of this country also because no true Indian can be an opponent of Subhash now–will have to confess that Subhash had given concrete shape to a world of dreams in the lands of East Asia. It is doubtful if any other leader, any other commander, or any other revolutionary would have achieved anything more than what Subhash did in Burma and Malaya. Subhash Babu's greatness has to be measured by the work that he has done there.

Man is inquisitive by nature and when he fails in

one of his undertakings, he begins to search for the causes of his failure Subhash also must have done the same and if we on our part try to assess the causes of his failure the first thing that strikes us is the turn that the international situation took during the latter part of the war. If Germany had not broken down, if America had not developed into the mighty nation that it became afterwards, and if Japan had not weakened, perhaps the I. N. A. also would not have been defeated. Yet we must admit, as Subhash Babu himself has admitted, that the I. N. A. had not got the equipment, the aerial cover, the transportation facilities and other supplies, which are necessary to wage a modern war. Subhash, who had come in close contact with Germany and Japan and who had studied their art of warefare in detail, chose to attack even though he knew his own short-comings and insufficiency of resources and this fact made many persons look up with surprise, It is possible that Subhash expected very great help from India itself. He perhaps believed that the profound discontent and hatred towards Britain which the 40 crores of Indians entertained will create a tremendously explosive condition in India, once his own offensive got under way. But when Subhash did start his offensive the rebellion in India was in its last stages. The August rebellion really lasted for three months only. Moreover the short-comings which Subhash himself has pointed out in his plans, were to a great extent responsible for his defeat.

The second offensive of the Indian National Army would have been successful had the whole aspect of the war not changed by then. The circumstances were such

that we can blame none else but the peculiar world forces of the time for the defeat of the I. N. A.

Here we must bear in mind one thing. We must not think that the party which has won must necessarily be right and the party which has lost must necessarily be wrong. If we take that line, we will have to consider the Congress and Gandhiji also to have failed in their mission because India's freedom is still to be won......and none can say that the Congress and Gandhiji have failed. The method of assessing the success or failures of independence movements in other countries has also been the same and if we observe keenly the cause of successes or failures of various countries we would see that the ultimate result has practically always been affected by extraneous circumstances. Subhash knew this as we see from the copious references he made to the revolutions in France, Germany and Turkey.

The real test of success of a struggle for independence is this: if the struggle increases our morale, if it increases our thirst and yearning for independence, if our assessment of human values rises to a new level as a result of it–the struggle connot be said to have been lost. If we measure Subhash Babu's work with this measuring rod, we cannot but come to the conclusion that what Subhash did was nothing short of miraculous–astounding.

Subhash–by means of his I. N. A.– gave the Indian nation a lesson in discipline, the like of which they have never learned in the last 150 years. The traces of that discipline are still visible in the men of I. N. A. who have returned to India. To–day India badly needs such discipline.

The I. N. A., which created an epic of bravery, which fought for three continuous days in pouring rain and open skies in the Jungles of Arakan, which when they found that inspite of having plenty of ammunition they had run short of food, switched on to eating grass and green leaves rather than give up the fight for independence, which inspired young girls to march for miles on end with nothing to eat and which made budding children so freedom minded that they died with the song of independence on their lips, has given a glorious heritage to India. India should consider herself fortunate for it and should never forget that the man who moulded was Subhash Chandra Bose, I think no Indian of the future will over-look this fact.

In addition to inculcating courage and bravery, Subhash inspired supreme self-confidence and fearlessness in his men. The I. N. A. soldiers tell us that Subhash was never afraid of bombs. He could calmly pursue his work even when the British Bombers were hovering overhead. The I. N. A. soldiers also have given us a glimpse of this fearlessness and the fact that they mounted an offensive amply proves that they had confidence in their capabilities.

The notable achievement of the I. N. A. was the spirit of communal accord pervading all throughout the force. Even Gandhiji has lavished his praises on it. This achievement assumes added significance in India today when brothers are fighting each other. There was not even the slightest trace of communal discord amongst the Hindus and the Muslims of the I. N. A. They had shed their blood-which flowed into a common streamlike real blood-brothers, for the attainment of India's freedom which was their common goal.

The raising of military power is also not a small achievement. Certain queer ideas about martial and non-martial communities had gained currency in India. It was commonly believed that certain communities which were in the higher strata of society could and should never wield arms. Many even believed that it would take years to train India into the art of modern warfare. Subhash destroyed all these illusory notions with one stroke. He armed workers, traders and even the tender fair-sex, whose hopes till yesterday were centred round a home and a family. Cashiers, book-keepers, bankers, auditors, cooks-all came out of their old rut to take up arms and give open fight to the enemy. These brave warriors who were drawn from the heterogeneous elements of society and were moulded into a homogeneous entity, advanced right up to Imphal and when time came for retreat, preferred to die on battle-field rather than fall back. Subhash even made full use of the knowledge that science has given us. Those who will consider Subhash Babu's achievement as ordinary will be making a very grave mistake. They will deal a blow-perhaps unintentionally-to our future strategy of defence.

Now let us consider the question of Subhash Babu's relations with Japan. Subhash has lavishly praised Japan in many of his pronouncements, and yet we come across enough evidence to prove that he was always very-very cautious in his dealings with Japan. Once in a heart-to heart talk with a colleague, he had said: "Can anybody think that we are shedding the blood of our dear Indian soldiers on the battle-field of Imphal simply to bring Japan into India ?"

If Subhash had wished, he could have lessened th hardships and sufferings of his Indian soldiers by solicitin financial and armed help from Japan......but Subhash wa wide awake. When every fibre of his body had revolte against the continued run of imperialist rule in India, ho could he brook the entry of another into India and th too under his very nose? He preferred hardship an suffering to Japanese tutelage and influence.

It is no use believing and saying that if Japan ha won, it would have made India its slave. There i not the least shadow of a doubt that if suc an eventuality had ever loomed large on the horizon an ....if it had come to the notice of the I. N. A., the would have decidedly changed their targets and raine their ammunition on those who tried to snatch away thei newly won independence.

Some say that "by eulogizing the violent method o Subhash Babu, we betray our faith of non-violence. Sucl praise and eulogy will vitiate the non-violent atmospher and deal a blow to our struggle." This belief is erroneous If we can go to George Washington, the saviour o America, for getting inspiration in our struggle, if we can praise and appreciate Lenin's courage, De Valera's dire resolve and Kamal Pasha's astounding ability, if Pratap and Shivaji are even today adored by us as national heroes, inspiring in us a sense of supreme sacrifice why fight shy of eulogizing a lion among men like Subhash, who has lived with us in our own times? Why be afraid of violence?

The life story of Subhash is not meant to give us lessons in violence, but the lessons of courage and sacrifice with

which the story abounds have to be learnt by heart by every Indian. The present generation of 400 million Indians very much needs the inspiration contained in an epic of sacrifice—an epic like the one Subhash has written.

It should not be forgotten that the Congress has accepted the thesis of an armed conflict in its historic resolution of August 1942. During the time of Simla Conference also the Congress showed its readiness to fight Japan if complete transference of power was effected. The peculiar conditions of our country has mainly induced the Congress to choose non-violence as the weapon in their armoury. The Congress has agreed to adopt the way of violence—even though in principle only— when placed in the peculiar circumstances in which Subhash was placed. If the government of Free India could be visualised to give armed fight to Japan, why could not Subhash Babu's Provisional Government of Free India draw sword against Britain ? For me there is no difference between the two.

Of course, non-violence is much superior to violence but not even the Congress has yet reached the top rung of the ladder of Ahimsa-non-violence. Inspite of this, Subhash's soldiers after coming to India have adopted the way of non-violence, because it is the way of the Congress. They have got sense enough to asess the situation, but the same cannot be said about the impatient and awakened youth of this country—young men and women, who have gone mad after Subhash and his army. It might justifiably be feared that they would perhaps take to the path of violence even though the conditions in our country are totally different. Yet, even if such a thing comes to pass, it will not last long. God only knows when India will be able to meet

fully Gandhiji's requirements of Ahimsa, but we see from the various pronouncements made by the members of the I. N. A. and the way in which they behave, that these disciplined fighters for freedom will not cross the limit accepted by Congress.

If we take a comprehensive aspect of Subhash Babu's life and his life-work, we see that he is going to be the source of inspiration for all the coming generations of the world. His influence will transcend the limit of time and space. "The war cry of "Chalo Delhi" with which Subhash rent the air can never be forgotten by India...... and if it forgets it, will it be able to live honourably amongst the free nations of the world? Subhash had inscribed the motto of "Chalo Delhi" in letters of blood but it will adorn the pages of future world history in letters of gold.

VII

A DAY DREAM

It is days since I contacted Subhash in files, in pictures, in speeches and what not. After experiencing a sort of oneness with his activities, I cannot hold back my imagination which wants to soar higher and higher and travel to the lands where mundane limitations cease to exist. Many times I cannot make out whether I am awake or asleep. The profound faith deeply ingrained in my heart creates a captivating picture before my minds' eye. I feel as if I am looking on the vast expanse of the Western Sea. Its billows are washing the shores of India and riding on those billows a typically Indian ship is seen coming towards the shore. All its sails are unfurled. The calm and limitless sky overhead seems to act as a protecting screen. Wind showers its favours on the ship, which gathers speed, comes to the shore and casts anchor. A long lost son of India disembarks from it but before setting his foot on the soil of India, he picks up a pinch of the holy earth, places it over his head, touches his eyes with it and

then falls down on his face to kiss the soil of his land of birth. He gets up, turns head and his wide black eyes take the whole India in their stride. He is still seen to be wearing some military uniform. How many years have passed after he first donned that uniform ! How many years before was he awakened from the slumber of slavery ! How many years before did he bid good-bye to the dear land of his birth !

He takes some more steps. The Mother Earth experiences a thrill of elation......after how many years ! The slumbering people of the land wake up all of a sudden and the inhabitants of this Bharat Varsha set their eyes on their beloved Subhash Chandra as the dwellers of Ayodhya had done when Ramachandra had returned from wilderness. 400 million throats begin to sing his praise. Victory is heralded with the beating of drums and blowing of conch-shells. In the mosques the Muazzin calls the faithful to prayers. The sweet peels of the temple bells lend an extra touch of colour to the atmosphere.

It looks as if the Sun of India's freedom is shining at its zenith. The dry and arid land yesterday has been transformed today into green fields over-grown with corn. Everywhere the green rich earth seems to have yielded her wealth unreservedly. Green leaves and tender flower flutter slowly in the breeze. The poor peasant of yesterday is seen to be eyeing the scene contentedly and gleefully.

Then my eyes turn towards the factories. The broken and worn-out workers who were always in rags, seem to have assumed new forms ! They are working on reconstruction jobs. There are now no employers and no employees.

The dignity of labour has increased. All seem to be resting for a while under the same tree before starting afresh the struggle of existence. There is equality everywhere.

Then I see the ladies! How beautiful, tender, charming and holy they look! They have got the spirit of the Ranee of Jhansi and the purity of the celebrated Seeta, ingrained into their beings. The earth smiles when they walk, and when they smile.........well.........the life seems worth living.

I behold hordes of youngmen marching in formation. The various Universities of the land, which have become the true seats of the goddess of learning, are over-flowing with these youngsters. The modern and ancient lores have met in confluence at these Universities and all are free to take a dip in their deep waters or to drink their fill and thus nourish and nurture their heart and soul. Here I behold youth in its true form.

There is Kanya Kumari on one side, there is Kashmir on the other. There is Karachi on one side and the land of Assam purified and glorified by the activities of our National Army, on the other. All these four quarters begin to assume a novel hue for me. While I set my eyes on them, I feel that the darkness of slavery has disappeared. Sin, suffering and unhappiness do not seem to be evident anywhere. There is happiness everywhere, peace everywhere, smile everywhere.

Subhash Chandra appears amongst his people when things have taken this happy turn. He seems to say: "I am not Rama but I am Rama's servant. I am that Laxman, that Bharat, who ruled over Ayodhya but did not want to

pollute the royal seat of Rama. I want to reach Delhi but I do not want to sit on the throne there. Only Raja Rama can set foot on that holy throne. That Raja Rama is everywhere. He resides in your heart and mine. Like Bharat, I also have caught hold of one of his pairs of sandals. With that emblem of authority I am going to march to Delhi. Let us all march to Delhi shoulder to shoulder. After reaching Delhi, we shall open our hearts and the man whom our hearts choose, whom the 40 crores of Indians elect shall sit on the throne. Then I shall put these sandals on his feet and will pledge myself to obey his orders till the end. I am not enamoured of thrones and crowns. My heart yearns to swim the seven seas, roam in dense jungles and conquer unconquerable mountains. The throne must go to the person who is the adored god of all. We must see that he gets it.

......and with a thundering voice he fills the skies with the cry of " Chalo Delhi ! " " Chalo Delhi," !

I awake from this day dream. I still do not know if I am awake or asleep. The echo of " Chalo Delhi " still reverberates in my ears. With one stride I reach the window of my small house. There, I see a mammoth procession passing down the road. There are women volunteers in white as well as male volunteers marching in formation. Behind them is a vast congregation of men, women and children, boldly echoing the song that the women voluteers are singing in a melodious voice. I seemed to hear the surging sound of waves and the thunder of clouds in that echo. The whole world seemed to be crying with one voice " Chalo Delhi ! Chalo Delhi ! "

There is a big portrait at the head of the procession. A wreath of flowers has been put around it. Two young girls clad in white are guarding it. The melodious song seemd to be coming from their throat.

The song, rising above the din and bustle of the whole world comes to my ears and my heart also echoes in response:–

Aj Delhi Chalo archana ke liye
Aj Delhi Chalo bandana ke liye
Aj Delhi Chalo kamna ke liye
Aj Delhi Chalo sadhana ke liye.

"JAI-HIND" is our National Salutation, as Indian meets Indian;

The TRICOLOUR with the Charkha is our National Flag;

Tagore's song 'JAYA-HO' has become our National Anthem;

The TIGER, with its association of Tipu Sultan—assumes the position of our Emblem;

'CHALO DELHI' is our War Cry, and 'INQUILAB ZINDABAD' & 'AZAD-HIND ZINDABAD' are our Slogans;

'VISWAS-EKTA-BALIDAN' —Faith, Unity, Sacrifice,— is our Motto.

ARZI HUKUMAT-e-AZAD HIND

(Provisional Government of Free India)